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THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF
GEORGETOWN
BY
GEORGE THURGOOD

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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
DURING
THE REIGN
OF
GEORGE THE THIRD;

BY ROBERT SCOTT, Esq.

*Author of the Biographical Sketches in the 'Cabinet of
Portraits,' &c.*

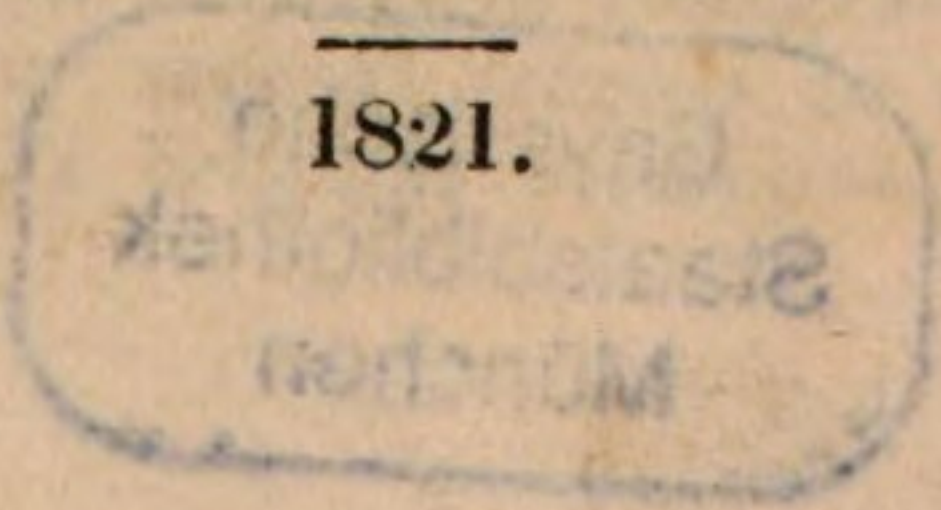
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CHAPTER XIV.

New Parliament—Address—Grant for relief of Barbadoes and Jamaica—Debate on the Dutch war—Mr. Burke's reform bill again rejected—First speech of Mr. Pitt—Warm debates on the loan bill—Other proceedings to the close of the session—India affairs—Second attempt of the French on Jersey—Capture of St. Eustatia and other Dutch settlements—Loss of Tobago—St. Eustatia retaken by the Marquis de Bouillé—Campaign in America—Defeat of Colonel Tarleton—Battle of Guildford Court-house—Threatened attack on New York—Naval action between Admiral Graves and Count De Grasse, favourable to the latter—Surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army—Reduction of Pensacola by Don Galvez—Siege of Gibraltar—Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope—Successes in the East Indies—Engagement on the Dogger Bank—Kempenfelt's success against a French convoy—Meeting of Parliament—Discussions on the American war—Decline of ministerial influence—Rockingham ministry formed—Concessions to Ireland—other popular measures—Death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and consequent changes—Loss of Minorca, and of several islands in the West Indies—Rodney's brilliant victory—Relief of

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PARLIAMENT was unexpectedly dissolved on the 1st of September, 1780, and a new one convened the 31st of October; but nothing worthy of specific notice passed in either House before the holidays, except the election of a speaker of the Commons, in which the strength of the opposition was exerted for the re-appointment of Sir Fletcher

Norton; but Mr. Cornwall was chosen in his room by 203 voices against 134. His Majesty, in his opening speech, declared his satisfaction in having an opportunity, by the recent election, of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and wishes of his people, to which he was always inclined to pay the utmost attention. He acknowledged the arduous situation of public affairs; but the late signal successes of his arms in Georgia and Carolina would, he trusted, have important consequences, in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. An amendment to the address, consisting in the omission of several complimentary paragraphs, was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville; but it was negatived, by a majority of 69, in favour of the original address.

On the day Parliament met after the Christmas recess, the 23d of January, 1781, the sum of 80,000*l.* was granted for the relief of Barbadoes, and 40,000*l.* for Jamaica, in consequence of the dreadful hurricane with which those islands in particular had been visited. Bridge-town, the capital of the former, was almost levelled to the ground, and some thousands of people were killed. At Jamaica, the town of Savanna-la-Mar was utterly swept away, and the island underwent a terrible devastation of property and loss of lives.

On the 25th of January, two days after, Lord North delivered a message from the King, stating that, during the recess of Parliament, he had been obliged to direct letters of marque and general reprisal to be issued against the States General of the United Provinces. For the causes and motives of his conduct he referred to his public manifesto, which, with various other papers, he had ordered to be laid before the House. Lord North in consequence moved an address, assuring his Majesty, that the House would, with a firm and determined

resolution, support the just and necessary war against Holland. This motion was seconded by Lord Lewisham, but it met with considerable opposition in both Houses; and, in the Peers, it was observed, by Lord Camden, that, as to what was called the treaty between Holland and America, it was the mere unauthorised act of Van Berkel, and betrayed neither directly nor indirectly any intention in the States General of a hostile nature. It did not even appear that they knew any thing of this man or his colleagues; and much less that they had determined to ratify this pretended treaty, or project of a treaty, by which no one was bound, and no one could be injured. The addresses, however, were carried by great majorities; but the dissentient peers recorded their objections in a strong protest.

Mr. Burke, not dismayed by the rejection of his reform bill last year, moved, on the 15th of February, for leave to introduce a similar measure. He opened his proposition by stating the powerful motives that engaged him now to resume his undertaking; which were, the celebrated resolutions of the late Parliament, respecting the alarming increase of the influence of the crown; the general wish and expectation of the people; and the direct applications to himself from several of the most considerable counties. Leave was given, without opposition, to bring in the bill; but, on the motion for the second reading, it was thrown out by a majority of 233 against 190, after a vigorous debate, which was distinguished by the first parliamentary exertion of the Hon. William Pitt, second son of the late Earl Chatham, who, in early youth, was elected a member of the present Parliament. He delivered himself with grace, facility, and animation; his voice was rich and striking; and his reasoning displayed all the fire of his father. One great object, he said, of all the petitions which had

been presented, was a recommendation of economy in the public expenditure; and the design of the present bill was to carry into effect those wishes. The bill had also another object still more important, and that was the reduction of the influence of the crown—an influence which was the more to be dreaded, because more secret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative. The youthful orator adverted to the extraordinary objections which had been made to the bill, which proposed to bring no more than 200,000*l.* per annum into the public coffers, and that sum was insignificant, in comparison of the millions annually expended. What then, said he, is the conclusion we are left to deduce? The calamities of the present crisis are too great to be benefited by economy. Our expenses are so enormous, that it is useless to give ourselves any concern about them; we have spent and are spending so much, that it is foolish to think of saving any thing. Such is the language which the opponents of this bill have virtually employed. It had also been said, he observed, that the King's civil list was an irresumable parliamentary grant, and it had even been compared to a private freehold. The weakness of such arguments was their best refutation. The civil list revenue was granted to his Majesty not for his private use, but for the support of the executive government of the state. It was granted to support the dignity and interests of the empire, to maintain its grandeur, to pay the judges and foreign ministers, to maintain justice and support respect, to pay the great officers necessary to the lustre of the crown; and it was proportioned to the dignity and opulence of the people. The Parliament made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to resume it when the pressure of the times rendered such resumption necessary. Upon the whole, he consi-

dered the present bill as essential to the being and independence of this country, and he would give it his most determined support.

The minister had soon another contest to sustain, which seemed to indicate a decline of his credit with the public, as well as of his influence in Parliament. On the 7th of March he brought forward his annual statement of the supplies and resources for the current service. The entire expenditure he calculated at 21,000,000*l.* twelve of which it would be necessary to raise by a loan. The terms were unusually high: a contract had been entered into with the subscribers to grant 150*l.* capital stock at three *per cent.* and 25*l.* capital stock at four *per cent.* for every 100*l.* in money, being 9,000,000*l.* more than the sum actually paid into the exchequer. To defray the interest of this loan, new taxes would be wanting to the amount of 660,000*l.* annually, that is 60,000*l.* more than the legal interest of five *per cent.* exclusive of which, as the subscription to the loan bore a premium of ten *per cent.* the farther sum of 1,200,000*l.* appeared to be lost to the nation by this improvident bargain. Mr. Fox reprobated it as the most corrupt in its origin, the most shameful in its progress, and the most injurious in its consequences, that ever came under the contemplation of the House. He particularly objected to the lottery annexed to the other douceurs of the loan, both as adding to advantages already too great, and as prejudicial to the morals of the people, he therefore moved that the lottery clause be omitted, which amendment was supported by 111 voices against 169. But the business did not end here: the opposition to the loan bill was renewed under a variety of forms, during its passage through the Commons; and when carried to the Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham and some of his friends did not fall short of Mr. Fox in the severity of their censure.

The only apology for such a contract having been the low state of the funds and the imperious necessity of the times, the marquis said, he did not doubt but the matter originated in *necessity*; for such was the critical situation of the minister, that he found himself compelled to resort to this shameful waste of the public money, in order to fix and attach the wavering and hesitating minds of his abettors. Eight of the peers entered a protest against the bill on the journals. Some weeks afterwards the subject was revived in the Lower House by a motion of Sir George Saville for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the circumstances of the last loan; for though the bargain, he said, had been irrevocably ratified, it was not yet too late, on discovering the shameless prodigality of the terms on which it was concluded, to pass a vote of censure, or even of impeachment, on the man who had sacrificed the public interest in so gross and daring a manner. This gave rise to a vehement debate, at the conclusion of which the motion was rejected by a majority of 46 only, in a full House, the numbers being 209 to 163.

Mr. Fox made an effort, in the course of this session, to introduce a bill for the repeal, or at least for a modification of the marriage act. The principal feature in the proposed bill was, that it reduced the legal age for contracting marriage to eighteen in males, and sixteen in females, and no marriage was to be annulled after the parties had cohabited for one year. The bill passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords.

Towards the end of the session, Mr. Fox moved the House to resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war, for the purpose of devising some means of accommodation. This motion was supported in an animated speech by Mr. Pitt, who expressed his utter abhorrence of a war,

which was conceived, he said, in injustice, nurtured in folly, and whose footsteps were marked with slaughter and devastation. It exhibited the height of moral depravity and human turpitude. The nation was drained of its best blood and its vital resources, for which nothing was received in return but a series of inefficient victories or disgraceful defeats, victories obtained over men struggling in the holy cause of liberty, or defeats which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relatives, slain in a detested and impious quarrel. The motion was rejected by a majority of 73.

The other proceedings of this session, which was protracted to the 18th of July, are more distinguished for violence of debate than for efficacy or importance. The appointment of delegates by several of the associated counties, to meet in London for the purpose of promoting the objects of their former petitions, proved a copious source of parliamentary contention; and the events of the war, the sphere of which was now considerably enlarged, afforded every day some fresh occasion of dispute. The accounts from the East Indies in particular were very perplexing. A spirit of intrigue and ambition seemed to have pervaded the system of British government in that part of the world, and to have provoked a most formidable confederacy of the native powers. While a part of the company's forces were engaged on one side in hostilities with the Mahrattas, Hyder Ally, on the other, broke into the Carnatic with a vast army in the month of July, 1780, and committed the most dreadful ravages. On the 10th of September, he surrounded a large body of troops under Colonel Baillie, who were entirely cut to pieces, or made prisoners. He then attacked and made himself master of Arcot; and scarcely did the government of Madras believe itself to be in safety, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived

to take the command of the forces on the coast of Coromandel, and by the most extraordinary efforts stopped Hyder's career, and defeated him in several engagements, in which, to use the gallant veteran's own words, "every nerve was exerted to the very extent of possibility." The first intelligence of those unexpected convulsions in the east occasioned the appointment of a secret committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the causes of the Mahratta war, and that in the Carnatic. Their reports on the subject afterwards engaged no small share of public notice, but did not produce any effectual correction of the evil. A bill had likewise been brought in, and was passed at the close of the session, for restraining the arbitrary encroachments of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal, the governor-general and council having been under the necessity of forcibly resisting the proceedings of the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey. By another bill the company were, for a limited term, continued in the enjoyment of their present privileges, with a clause compelling them to pay about 400,000*l.* to the public, in aid of supply, and as a just participation in their revenues and profits.

The military history of the present year was marked in its commencement by a second attempt of the French upon the island of Jersey. The Baron de Rullecourt, who had been next in command to Count Nassau in the former attack, landed with about 800 men at a place called the Violet Bank in the night of the 15th of January; and, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, when the day began to dawn, the market-place of St. Helier was found occupied by French troops. The house of Major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, being entirely surrounded, he was so far intimidated as to sign articles of capitulation; but when Elizabeth castle was summoned, Captain Aylward, the com-

mander, fired upon the French and obliged them to retreat; and Major Pierson, a young and gallant officer, second in command, having assembled the regular troops and militia of the island on the heights near the town, attacked the enemy with the greatest resolution. Baron Rullecourt being at the commencement of the action mortally wounded, the French troops in less than half an hour laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Unfortunately almost the last shot fired previously to the surrender proved fatal to Major Pierson, in whose conduct discretion and valour had been equally conspicuous.

Early information of the rupture with Holland having been transmitted to the West Indies, Admiral Rodney, who had returned to that station from New York, and General Vaughan, appeared with a considerable force, on the 3d of February, before the island of St. Eustatia, which, though small and sterile, was at that time a great deposit of wealth and mart of traffic. De Graaff, the governor, being utterly incapable of making any defence, was compelled to surrender at discretion; and the immense property of the island was declared to be confiscated, with a degree of indiscriminate and unusual rigour, which can hardly be justified. A memorial was presented to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan by the hands of Mr. Glanville, his Majesty's solicitor-general for St. Christopher's, strongly representing, that if by the fate of war the British West India islands should fall into the hands of an enraged enemy, the conduct of St. Eustatia would be a pretext for them to retaliate; that the conquerors of all civilized countries had avoided the invasion of private property; that the generosity of the enemy had been very conspicuous; and even in the case of Grenada, which had been taken by storm, the rights of indi-

viduals had been held sacred: that Eustatia was a free port, and the rich and various commodities found there were far from being the sole property of the Dutch; that a great portion of it belonged to the British subjects; and that, previously to this declaration of war, the trade to Eustatia was strictly legal, and the officers of his Majesty's customs cleared out vessels from all the ports of Great Britain and Ireland for this island. And not merely the legality, but the propriety of this trade was confirmed by the conduct of his Majesty's naval officers in those seas; for if the King's enemies were supplied by the trade of his subjects through Eustatia, they were likewise supplied, through the same channel, by the sale of the prizes captured by his Majesty's ships of war. The admiral replied, that he had not as yet leisure to peruse the memorial; but that the island of Eustatia was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, every thing was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated. The value of the commodities thus seized was estimated at 4,000,000*l.* sterling. A Dutch frigate of 36 guns, five others of inferior force, and more than 150 sail of merchantmen, were taken in the bay; and a fleet of 30 ships richly laden, which had sailed for Holland two days before, were pursued and brought back, with a man of war that convoyed them, under the command of Admiral Byland, who lost his life in a vain effort of resistance. The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in a similar manner; and, nearly about the same time, the Dutch settlements of Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, on the southern main, made a tender of submission to the Governor of Barbadoes, the rivers leading to the two former having been boldly entered, and all the vessels seized, by a squadron of privateers from Bristol. The deputies from those set-

lements were referred to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, who thought them deserving of more lenity than the people of St. Eustatia, and secured to them the full possession of their civil government, and private property.

While the British commanders were detained in adjusting the concerns of their new acquisition, a French fleet under the Count de Grasse, after a partial engagement with Admiral Hood, whom Rodney had detached to intercept it, steered its course to the island of Tobago, on which the Marquis de Bouillé made an immediate descent. Admiral Rodney, on receiving intelligence of this attack, dispatched six ships of the line, with some frigates and troops, for its relief; but these finding the French in great force, were obliged to return; and Rodney, accompanied by Vaughan, sailed with the whole fleet for Tobago. He arrived off the coast on the 4th of June, but had the mortification to learn that the island had surrendered two days before; and was baffled in all his attempts, during the remainder of the summer, to bring the enemy to a general engagement.

Other mortifying circumstances soon occurred to render the conquest of St. Eustatia an object rather of vexation than of triumph. The necessity of disposing of the merchandize facilitated the purchases by neutrals, who, notwithstanding every precaution, conveyed the articles to the enemy at a cheap rate, and in great plenty. A rich convoy, freighted with the most valuable commodities taken there, was intercepted on its way to England by a French squadron; and the island itself, with its little dependencies, St. Martin's and Saba, were re-conquered in November, by a small force under the Marquis de Bouillé, who, having received intelligence of the habitual negligence of the garrison, landed by night about 400 troops, part of a much

larger force which the tempestuousness of the weather had separated, in a cove at the back of the island. Confiding in his fortune, he advanced with his troops, when daylight appeared, to the citadel, which they immediately stormed, and carried; and, the surprise being complete, nearly 700 men, with Colonel Cockburne, their commander, were constrained to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Restitution, so far as circumstances would permit, was immediately made to those individuals who had been stripped of their property; and a declaration was published, that the French forces defended the island only till relieved by the troops of their High Mightinesses.

The campaign in America, however, commenced with a circumstance which appeared favourable to the royal cause. The very embarrassed state of the American finances had subjected their army to great hardships and privations: the soldiers had long been without pay, and were destitute of such clothing as the season required, when, on the 1st of January, the whole of the division called the Pennsylvania line, at once revolted; and, collecting the artillery, stores, &c. belonging to them, moved in an entire body out of the camp. General Clinton, anxious to improve this apparent advantage, immediately passed over to Staten Island with a large body of forces, and dispatched messengers to the revolted with almost unlimited offers of pay, pardon, and protection. These offers, however, were rejected with disdain, and two messengers were actually delivered up to congress and hanged. Having obtained a promise of the redress of grievances, the revolted soon returned to their station.

An expedition, under the conduct of Generals Arnold and Phillips, was soon afterwards sent into Virginia, where they laid waste the country, and did much damage to the Americans by the destruc-

tion of a large quantity of valuable stores, deposited in different parts ; and a permanent station was established at Portsmouth, to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, whose transactions to the southward were carried on with spirit and success. A plan having been formed between the French and American commanders, Rochambeau and Washington, to invest the post occupied by General Arnold, a warm engagement took place in March, between Admiral Arbuthnot and a French squadron, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, in which the former obtained the advantage, and was left master of the navigation of the bay.

Although the opening of the campaign, and occasional successes during the year, excited considerable expectations, they served only to increase, eventually, the dismal effect of multiplied disasters. After the victory at Camden, the excessive heats and great unhealthiness of the season had laid an insuperable restraint for some time on Lord Cornwallis's march into North Carolina ; and the total destruction of a corps of royalists under Major Ferguson, who had been sent towards the frontiers, and who bravely continued an unequal contest till he received a mortal wound, obliged his lordship to suspend any farther attempts till the beginning of January, when he began his march ; but finding that General Greene, by whom Gates had been lately superseded in the command of the southern army, had detached Colonel Morgan, at the head of a body of light troops, to penetrate into South Carolina, and not choosing to leave so considerable a corps in his rear, he ordered Colonel Tarleton, at the head of a superior force, to drive Morgan from his station. On the 17th the Americans were discovered at a place called the Cowpens, near an open wood, drawn up in two lines, the first of which consisted of militia only, the second of

continental infantry and Virginia riflemen; and a chosen body of cavalry was posted as a *corps de reserve*, at some distance in the rear. Colonel Tarleton led on the attack with his accustomed impetuosity; and the American militia, as Colonel Morgan had foreseen, gave way on all quarters. The English then confidently advanced to the attack of the second line; and the continental troops, after an obstinate conflict, retreated towards the cavalry. In the interim, the militia had formed again agreeably to orders, and the American *corps de reserve*, perceiving the British troops disordered in the pursuit, came forward to the attack, the militia and continentals at the same time vigorously charging with fixed bayonets. Astonished at these unexpected charges, the English advanced corps immediately fell back, and communicated a general confusion and panic, which all the efforts of Colonel Tarleton could not retrieve. The consequence was, that the cannon, colours, and baggage waggons fell into the hands of the victors, and 700 men were slain or captured.

In the hope of recovering the prisoners, and intercepting the victorious Americans, Lord Cornwallis immediately marched with the greater part of his army, in rapid pursuit of Colonel Morgan. That officer had crossed the Catawba a few hours only before the arrival of his lordship on its southern banks, where, by heavy rains, he was detained two or three days. On the 1st of February the passage was found practicable, but Colonel Morgan had by that time crossed the Yadkin, and effected his junction with General Greene, who, on the 5th, wrote confidentially to a military correspondent, General Huger, that he was preparing to receive the enemy's attack. At length, the whole American army, after crossing the Dan into Virginia, suddenly returned into the province of North Carolina; and

with powerful reinforcements took a strong position near Guildford Court-house, on the 14th of March. At day-break, on the 15th, Lord Cornwallis, with a very inferior force, advanced to the attack of the Americans, who were ready formed in three lines to receive him; and after a long and severe contest, the British ultimately carried their point, on which General Greene drew off the army, and left the field of battle, with the artillery, consisting of four field-pieces, in their hands. The Americans retired in good order, and took post behind a river, three miles only from the scene of action. This victory was, however, dearly purchased with the loss of 100 killed and above 400 wounded, amounting to one-third of all the British troops engaged; for the army, worn down by the hardships and fatigues of a march of 600 miles, short of provisions, and destitute of tents, was in no condition to pursue the enemy. The night succeeding the battle was remarkable for its darkness; the rain fell in torrents; and many of the wounded, sinking under accumulated miseries, expired before morning. Lord Cornwallis now found himself under the necessity of directing his march towards Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, a post already occupied by a detachment of British troops, where he arrived on the 7th of April. General Greene, with 2000 men, immediately proceeded towards Camden, which was gallantly maintained by Lord Rawdon, who, with only 800, attacked the Americans by surprise, and routed them with considerable loss; but the surrounding stations of Fort Motte, Orangeburgh, Congarees, and Augusta, being successively forced, his lordship was compelled to evacuate Camden, and retire to the south of the Santee. General Greene then laid close siege to the settlement of Ninety-six, which was considered as commanding the whole of the back country; and on the approach

of Lord Rawdon, who had recently received considerable reinforcements from England, attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed with loss by Colonel Cruger, the governor. He then retired with his army behind the Saluda, when Lord Rawdon withdrew the garrison from Fort Ninety-six, and retired to Orangeburgh; General Greene re-crossed the Saluda, and took a strong position on the high hills of Santee, whence he detached different parties to intercept the convoys, and beat up the quarters of the English between Orangeburgh and Charlestown. The English, now under the command of Colonel Stewart, (Lord Rawdon's health obliging him to return to England,) advanced to the point of junction between Wateree and Congaree, but General Greene passing the latter, Colonel Stewart immediately fell back forty miles, to a place called Eutaw Springs, where he took an advantageous position. General Greene, with the American army, advanced to the attack on the 8th of September, and, after an obstinate engagement, the British gave way, but were rallied and again formed, when, being unable to dislodge them, General Greene ordered a retreat. The English were in no condition to pursue, and both parties claimed the victory. In the evening of the next day, Colonel Stewart, abandoning the Eutaw, moved towards Charlestown, and General Greene regained his former encampment on the high hills of Santee.

Lord Cornwallis, on the march of General Greene's army to the southward, found himself reduced to a perplexing dilemma—either to abandon the Carolinas to their fate, or sacrifice his hopes of future conquests, and entirely disappoint the sanguine expectations, which he knew to have been formed in England, on the result of the present campaign. At length, he determined on marching to Virginia, and, on the 20th of May,

arrived at Petersburg, where he effected a junction with General Arnold, who had been strengthened by a detachment of about 2000 men, sent thither by Sir Henry Clinton. From Petersburg, Lord Cornwallis advanced to James river, which he crossed at West-town; and, thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna or Pamunky river, whence by a rapid movement Colonel Tarleton had nearly surprised the assembly of Virginia, then sitting at Charlotte-ville. Various expeditions were undertaken to different parts of the province, with uniform success; and Lord Cornwallis, by a well-concerted manœuvre, took a position between the American army and its grand depot of stores at Albemarle Court-house. The British general knew that the Marquis de la Fayette was on his march to prevent that important capture, but conceived that he could only attain his object by passing a road where he might be attacked to advantage; the marquis, however, extricated himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer and long disused road to the Court-house; and the next day, to the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, he had taken a position which effectually covered it from attack. Lord Cornwallis, finding his plan frustrated, proceeded to Williamsburg, the capital of the province, which he took possession of on the 26th of June, without opposition. Here he received advices from Sir Henry Clinton, who, conceiving New York to be in danger from the united forces of the French and Americans, desired the troops under General Arnold, which he had detached to Virginia, to be returned. With this requisition Lord Cornwallis was compelled, however reluctantly, to comply, and aware that his adversary had been lately reinforced by a strong body of troops, he determined to cross James river to Portsmouth. As he was about to embark, his rear was attacked by General Wayne

with the van of the American army, who, after sustaining an unequal conflict for some time, ordered a rapid retreat. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting that this attack must be meant to draw him into an ambuscade, fortunately for Wayne, forbade all pursuit. In the night his lordship passed over to Portsmouth, where he purposed to establish his head-quarters; but, on further deliberation, he removed to York-town.

General Washington had long meditated an attack upon New York, and General Clinton had good reason to believe that this was finally determined upon at an interview between the American general and Count Rochambeau, which took place in May; and in consequence of this project, great preparations were made in the vicinity of New York, indicative of an approaching siege. The arrival, however, of considerable reinforcements from England, and the recal of so large a body of troops from Virginia, led General Washington to meditate a change in his plan of operations. At length a letter from Count de Grasse, stating that his destination was unalterably fixed to the Chesapeak, left no alternative; and a joint answer was immediately sent by the American and French generals, that they would lose no time in removing the army to the south of the Delaware, there to meet the admiral. All the appearances of attack upon New York, were, however, still carefully kept up, till at length, on the 24th of August, the allied army suddenly decamped, passed the North river, and by rapid marches proceeded to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 30th; the fleet of Count de Grasse, consisting of twenty-four ships of the line, entering nearly at the same time the bay of Chesapeak. So strongly impressed was the mind of the British commander in chief with the expectation of an attack upon New York, that he for a long time conceived

the southern march of the American army to be only a feint. At length, finding that the van of the American army had passed the Delaware, and receiving authentic intelligence that the fleet of Count de Grasse was destined for the Chesapeake, he communicated his suspicions to Lord Cornwallis: at the same time assuring his lordship, that he would either reinforce him by every possible means in his power, or make the best diversion he could in his favour. It appears that the leading ideas of the British generals did not coincide; and it may be remarked, that from the moment Lord Cornwallis began to act in subordination to orders sent him from New York he ceased to be successful.

On the 5th of September, the English fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, under Admiral Graves, appeared off the Cape of Virginia, and Count de Grasse, expecting a reinforcement from Rhode island, stood out to sea for their protection. A warm engagement ensued, and the count, being joined by the squadron of M. Barras, was left undisputed master of the Chesapeake. Relief was from this time wholly impracticable; and Lord Cornwallis withdrew within his works, making every preparation for a vigorous defence. York-town being situated nearly at the extremity of a narrow peninsula, enclosed between York river to the north, and James river to the south, it was invested with great ease and advantage by an enemy who commanded the navigations of the two rivers. On the 14th of October the besiegers, notwithstanding a well-directed and incessant fire, had advanced far in their second parallel. As they were greatly incommoded in their approaches by two redoubts at the distance of 200 yards from the English lines, it was determined to attack them at the same time by different detachments of French and Americans. Both of the redoubts were carried, sword

in hand, with resistless impetuosity. By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; and the British works, enfiladed in almost every part, and nearly demolished, could scarcely mount a single gun. In this extremity no resource remained but to endeavour to transport the garrison across York river to Gloucester-point, opposite to York-town, where works had been also erected, and were still occupied by part of the English army. This intention, however, was totally frustrated by a violent storm after the embarkation had actually commenced, and Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the distressing necessity of proposing terms of capitulation, which were granted only on condition of his lordship's surrendering himself, and the forces under his command, prisoners of war. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to General Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis; and General Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the army of York-town precisely in the same way his own had been conducted eighteen months before. The garrison, at the time of the surrender, which took place on the 19th of October, amounted to 5950 men, but only 4017 were fit for duty; 1500 sailors also became prisoners of war. The besiegers were 19,000. Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship, however, obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New York, which was devised as the means of screening such of them as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, des-

tinued for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy Hook and New York. Such was the fate of that general, from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected.

To this terrible overthrow, which left little hope of recovering the American provinces, must be added another loss on the same continent in the early part of the campaign. Don Galvez, whose successful expedition, in the year 1779, against the British settlements on the Mississippi, has been already noticed, made farther advances into West Florida the following year, and being at length reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from the Havannah, completed the conquest of the whole province by the reduction of Pensacola on the 8th of May. General Campbell, the governor, acquired no small reputation, even in misfortune, by his judicious and spirited defence of the place for two months, with a motley garrison of 950 men, against a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, and a land force almost ten times the number of the besieged.

Spain did not appear to be consoled by this success for the disappointment she still felt in the siege of Gibraltar, on the reduction of which she was so intent, that she scarcely seemed to have another object in the war. The stupendous works which she raised before the place, were covered with the most formidable artillery that had ever, perhaps, been known in any siege; but all her efforts could not prevent timely relief from being conveyed to the garrison, first by Sir George Rodney, and afterwards by Admiral Darby, who had succeeded Geary in the command of the channel fleet. The Spaniards endeavoured to revenge the failure of their gunboats in an attempt to burn the convoy of victuallers

in the bay, by keeping up against the fortress an unremitted fire, day and night, for three weeks, from 170 pieces of heavy cannon and fourscore mortars. The town and its inhabitants were the sacrifice; but the loss on the side of the garrison was inconsiderable, and the damage done to the works was too trifling to give any concern to the defenders. During a long calm, which succeeded the gradual abatement of this tremendous cannonade and bombardment, the brave Elliot formed a scheme of effectual retaliation. At three o'clock in the morning of the 27th of November, a strong detachment, commanded by Brigadier-general Ross, sallied out of the garrison, and attacked the enemy's works with such skill and impetuosity, that the Spaniards gave way on every side, and in less than half an hour five batteries, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames: the magazines blowing up one after another as the conflagration reached them; and the Spaniards offering no other resistance than a distant and ill-directed fire from the forts of St. Philip and St. Barbara.

The fleet dispatched for the relief of Gibraltar, was accompanied by a squadron under Commodore Johnstone, late one of the commissioners to America, but now appointed to conduct an expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The court of Versailles, knowing the present inability of the States General to protect their foreign dominions, sent a superior squadron under M. Suffrein to counteract the designs of the English; and coming up with them at Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, the French admiral scrupled not to violate the neutrality of the Portuguese flag, by attacking the squadron of Commodore Johnstone, while it lay in the harbour, dispersed and unsuspecting of danger. British valour was eminently displayed in repelling the attack,

under every disadvantage of number, situation, and surprise; and the French were beaten off, after suffering severely in the conflict; but immediately proceeding to the Cape, they secured that settlement from any hostile attempt. The main object of the expedition being thus defeated, the commodore directed his force against five Dutch East Indiamen in Saldanha Bay, which he captured and accompanied to England, a part of his squadron, and a convoy of transports and merchant ships, which were destined for the East Indies, having proceeded thither.

Suffrein's timely arrival at the Cape was certainly the means of preserving that place, in itself incapable of any vigorous resistance; but the French admiral did not reach the East Indies soon enough to afford the like protection to the Dutch settlements there, or to save Hyder Ally's marine from destruction. While Sir Eyre Coote was attacking Hyder with equal vigour and success by land, Sir Edward Hughes not only blocked up his ports on the Malabar coast, but destroyed his shipping at Calicut and Mangalore, two of his principal arsenals, on which all his hopes of becoming a maritime power were founded. Before the close of the year, the Dutch fort of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, the garrison of which had been reinforced by 2300 of Hyder's troops, was taken by a joint operation of the British naval and military forces; and, early in January, 1782, they became masters, with still greater ease, of the valuable settlement of Trincomale, in the island of Ceylon. The many subsequent encounters between Hughes and Suffrein, though obstinately, and even heroically, contested, were attended with few decisive advantages on either side.

The misfortunes of the Dutch, in both the Indies, were greatly increased by their losses nearer home, many of their merchantmen and single ships being

taken at the beginning of the rupture, though no engagement happened between the fleets of the two nations till the 5th of August. Early in the morning of that day, an English squadron, commanded by Admiral Hyde Parker, met upon the Dogger Bank a Dutch squadron, somewhat superior in force, commanded by Admiral Zoutman, having under his convoy a fleet bound to the Baltic. On perceiving the English fleet bearing down, the Dutch admiral, who was to leeward, lay-to, and suffered them to approach within half musket shot without firing a gun, when a dreadful cannonade commenced, which was kept up without interruption for three hours and forty minutes, the action then ceasing only because the ships on both sides, from the damages they had respectively sustained, were no longer manageable. The Dutch, after some time, bore away with their convoy for the Texel, which they reached with great difficulty, one of their largest ships sinking before they could make the harbour. Admiral Parker returned in a shattered condition to the Nore, where he received the honour of a visit from the King on board his own ship, and was offered knighthood as the reward of his valour; but nothing could alter his resolution of resigning his command, which was imputed to indignation at the insufficiency and bad condition of his fleet. Admiral Zoutman was received at Amsterdam with great applause.

An attempt made by Admiral Kempenfelt, with thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, to intercept a French squadron and convoy carrying reinforcements to the East and West Indies, concluded the naval enterprises of this year. The English admiral fell in with the enemy on the 12th of December in a hard gale of wind, and succeeded in cutting off a part of the convoy; but was obliged to relinquish any farther design, on perceiving the

enemy's force to consist of nineteen sail of heavy line of battle ships, besides two more armed *en flute*. About twenty of the prizes arrived safe in England; and their importance, being all crowded with troops, or heavy laden with stores and provisions, served to excite the dissatisfaction of the public at the negligence of those who had not supplied Kempenfelt with such a force as would have enabled him to take or destroy the whole French fleet and convoy.

Parliament was opened on the 27th of November, by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty observed, that the war was still unhappily prolonged, and that, to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loss of his forces in that province: but he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace, or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests upon which the strength and security of this country must ever principally depend. The King concluded by calling for the concurrence and support of Parliament, and a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people. Mr. Fox, who inveighed against the measures of government with much bitterness, moved, as an amendment to the proposed address, that the whole be omitted excepting the first paragraph, and the following words inserted: "And we will, without delay, apply ourselves with united hearts to propose and digest such counsels as may in this crisis excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of system, command the confidence of all his Majesty's subjects." This amendment was supported by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke; but the original address was carried by a large majority. A similar amendment was moved in the Upper House by the Earl of

Shelburne, and supported by the Duke of Richmond ; but that also was negatived.

On the 12th of December, a motion was made by Sir James Lowther, “ that it be resolved by the House, that the war carried on against the colonies and plantations of North America had been effectual to the purposes for which it was undertaken ; and that it was also the opinion of the House, that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, must be injurious to this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies.” Notwithstanding the utmost opposition of the minister, the motion was negatived by no greater majority than 220 to 179.

Two days after the motion of Sir James Lowther, the army estimates were laid before the House ; from which it appeared that the whole military force required for the year 1782, including the provincial corps serving in America, amounted to 195,000 men. One hundred thousand seamen and marines had been already voted by the House. It was, however, stated by Lord George Germaine, that the ministry were of opinion, considering the present situation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, that it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted ; and that a fresh army would not be sent to supply the place of that captured at York-town. It was intended only to preserve such posts in America as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterprises of our fleets. In the debate which ensued, General Conway declared himself anxious for a recal of our fleets and armies from America. Of the two evils he would choose the least, and submit to the independence of America, rather than persist in the prosecution of so pernicious and ruinous a war. As to the idea now suggested of a war of posts, what garrison, he asked, would be able to

maintain them, when it was well known that even Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, did not consider himself as secure? The impression made by the successive speeches of the principal leaders in opposition, in this debate, was too great to be concealed; but the estimates, as originally moved, were at length voted by a considerable majority.

Though Lord North still preserved a tone of firmness, and carried the various questions relating to the estimates, the supplies, and the necessity of a new loan of 13,500,000*l.* with large majorities in the House of Commons, yet it was easy to see that his power was tottering, and could not be of long continuance. In every debate introduced by the opposition for the avowed purpose of condemning the conduct of the war, the number of those who voted for the exculpation of the ministry decreased every day. A motion of censure on Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, brought forward by Mr. Fox soon after the Christmas recess, was rejected by a majority of only 22; and even that majority did not continue, but was reduced to 19, in a House consisting of 453 members, on the renewal of the same motion in substance, though a little varied in form, on the 20th of February. Lord George Germaine seemed to shrink from similar attacks on himself by resigning the seals of his office to Mr. Welbore Ellis, and seeking a retreat in the House of Lords. On the 22d of February, General Conway moved for "an address to the King, earnestly imploring his Majesty to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of America might no longer be pursued, for the impracticable purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was strenuously opposed by the new secretary for the American department; and when the House divided, after a long debate, the ministry had still a major-

rity,—but a majority of one only, the numbers being 192 for, and 193 against the motion; so that the pyramidal edifice of ministerial power was now said, by a marvellous and magical inversion, to rest upon its apex. Five days after, the question was revived in a new form, declaring it to be “the opinion of the House, that a farther prosecution of offensive war against America would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America.” To evade an immediate determination upon the question the attorney-general, Wallace, moved an adjournment, declaring his intention speedily to submit to the consideration of the House, “a bill, enabling his Majesty to conclude a truce with America, and to enter into a negotiation on this ground.” The proposition of adjournment was negatived by a majority of 19, the numbers being 234 to 215; and the original motion of General Conway was then carried without a division. The general next moved an address to the King, founded on the precise words of the motion. This was agreed to; and it was resolved that the address should be presented to his Majesty by the whole House, which was accordingly done on the 1st of March: and his Majesty most graciously replied, that, in pursuance of the advice of the House of Commons, he would assuredly take such measures as should appear to him most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. This answer not being deemed sufficiently explicit, General Conway, on the 4th of March, moved another address to his Majesty, returning him thanks for his gracious assurances, and affirming, that nothing could so essentially promote the great objects of his Majesty’s paternal care, as the measures his faithful Commons

had humbly, though earnestly, recommended to his Majesty. This was agreed to *nem. con.*; and, by a second motion, it was resolved, "that the House will consider as enemies to his Majesty and the country all those who should advise a prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." On the succeeding day, the attorney-general moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America. No serious opposition was made to this bill, but it was treated with indifference, and Mr. Fox declared it to be only deserving of contempt.

Ministers not having indicated an intention to resign, it was thought necessary to move a direct vote of censure upon them, at the close of a series of resolutions brought forward by Lord John Cavendish, on the 8th of March, importing, "that the chief cause of all the national misfortunes is want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's ministers." The motion was seconded by Mr. Powys, who remarked, that the noble lord at the head of affairs had declared, that whenever Parliament should withdraw its confidence from him, he would resign. That period was now come. The confidence of Parliament was now withdrawn. It was therefore necessary that he should retire from power; and, whenever the happy moment should arrive, in which the noble lord, to the unspeakable joy of the nation, should really go to his sovereign to resign his employments, he hoped he would not forget to lay before the King a fair representation of the flourishing state in which he found his Majesty's empire when the government of it was intrusted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it. After a long debate, the order of the day was moved, and carried by 226 against 216. In the course of a few days, a

resolution was moved by Sir John Rous, that the House, taking into consideration the debt incurred, and the losses sustained in the present war, could place no further confidence in the ministers, who had the direction of public affairs. On a division, the numbers were 227 for, and 236 against the motion. Four days after this, (March the 19th,) the Earl of Surry had proposed to move a resolution of similar import to that of Sir John Rous; but when his lordship was about to rise, Lord North addressed himself to the speaker, and said, that as he understood the object of the noble lord's motion to be the removal of ministers, he wished to prevent the necessity of giving the House further trouble, by an explicit declaration, that his Majesty had come to a determination to make an entire change of administration: and he and his colleagues only retained their official situations till other ministers were appointed to occupy their places. Upon this Lord Surry consented to wave his motion; and in nine days after, the new arrangement was announced. The cabinet, formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, and including himself as first commissioner of the treasury, was composed of the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was also created a viscount, first commissioner of the admiralty; General Conway, commander-in-chief of the forces; Duke of Richmond, master general of the ordnance; Lord Thurlow, who was continued in his office of lord high chancellor; and Mr. Dunning, created Baron Ashburton, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The Duke of Portland succeeded Lord Carlisle as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was constituted

paymaster of the forces ; and Colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy.

The first business of national importance, brought forward after the appointment of the new ministry, was the repeal of an act passed in the reign of George the First, for securing the dependency of Ireland, against which the loudest and justest clamours had been raised in that country. This repeal, which passed both Houses without opposition, was properly understood as a virtual renunciation of the claim of legislating for Ireland. The power of suppressing or altering bills in the privy council, and the perpetual mutiny bill, were the other grievances of which the Irish had made some very urgent complaints. As these points lay between the Parliament of Ireland and the King, they were assured, by the lord-lieutenant, of his Majesty's gracious intentions to give his assent to acts for abolishing the obnoxious power above mentioned, and for limiting the duration of the mutiny act to the term of two years. The Irish Parliament and the whole nation were so highly gratified with these concessions, that a vote of the House of Commons in that kingdom passed, unanimously, for raising 20,000 seamen for the service of the British navy.

While these steps were judiciously taken to soothe the discontents and remove the jealousies of the people of Ireland, the new administration were not inattentive to the means of acquiring popularity at home. Bills for disabling revenue officers from voting at elections, and excluding contractors from the House of Commons, which had been repeatedly negatived in the course of a few years, were now revived and passed with approbation and applause. Mr. Burke's reform Bill was also brought forward a third time, in consequence of a message from the King, recommending an effectual plan of economy

throughout all the branches of the public expenditure. By this bill, which now passed, though not without some warm opposition in the House of Lords, principally from the lord-chancellor, the board of trade, the board of works, and the great wardrobe, were abolished, together with the office of American secretary of state, and many sinecure appointments.

On the 3d of May, after a long debate, it was resolved by the House of Commons, "that all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of that House respecting the election of John Wilkes, Esq. be expunged from the journals of the House, as subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom." By the people, however, the case of the Middlesex election was now regarded with nearly as much indifference as that of any other elective decision.

Just afterwards, a subject of infinitely higher importance was brought under the notice of the House, in consequence of a motion made by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in Parliament. The motion was warmly supported by Sir George Saville, and by Mr. Fox, who allowed the House of Commons to be a virtual representation of the people, yet this, he observed, was very different from, and far inferior to, a real one. The more distinguished opponents of the motion were Mr. Dundas, lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. Powys, and Mr. Thomas Pitt, the proprietor of the borough of Old Sarum. On a division, Mr. Pitt's motion was negatived only by 161 against 141.

So far the new ministry, though composed of some dissonant and jarring principles, had conducted public affairs with the appearance of perfect harmony; but the death of the Marquis of Rockingham on the 1st of July, threw their whole

system into the utmost disorder. On the day succeeding his decease, the Earl of Shelburne was declared first lord of the treasury. The acceptance of this high and pre-eminent office, without any previous communication with his colleagues, was considered by the Rockingham party as equivalent to a declaration of political hostility. Mr. Fox immediately resigned the seals as secretary of the northern department; Lord John Cavendish his office as chancellor of the exchequer; the Duke of Portland his government of Ireland; a few others their seats at the boards of treasury and admiralty; and Mr. Burke his post of paymaster of the army. In consequence of their resignations, the seals of the southern department were given to the Earl of Grantham, and of the northern to Mr. Thomas Townshend, late secretary at war: Sir George Yonge succeeded Mr. Townshend: Colonel Barré was made paymaster of the forces; and Mr. Dundas was appointed in his room treasurer of the navy: Lord Temple succeeded the Duke of Portland in the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and Mr. William Pitt was, at the early age of 23, constituted chancellor of the exchequer.

The session closed on the 11th of July, when the speech from the throne, in addition to the usual topics, contained the welcome declaration, that nothing could be more repugnant to his Majesty's feelings, than the long continuance of so complicated a war; and that his ardent desire of peace had induced him to take every measure which promised the speediest accomplishment of his wishes. The success of those measures will be described after a short sketch of the naval and military events of the year.

Intelligence arrived early in the spring that General Murray, governor of Minorca, had been compelled, after a long and vigorous resistance of

171 days, to surrender that island to the arms of his Catholic Majesty, on the 8th of February. The island of Nevis, in the West Indies, about the same time surrendered to the Marquis de Bouille and the Count de Grasse ; by whom very liberal terms were granted to the inhabitants. Eight thousand troops, with a formidable train of artillery, were then landed on the important island of St. Christopher. Sir Samuel Hood, who commanded the British fleet on that station, made great efforts for its relief ; and, notwithstanding his inferiority of force, he, in three successive encounters with De Grasse, obtained each time the advantage, and at length, by a dexterous manœuvre, gained possession of the enemy's anchorage at Basseterre Road. Admiral Hood then landed a considerable detachment of troops from Antigua under General Prescott. General Frazer, however, the commanding officer, was obliged to surrender the island on capitulation, after a siege of five weeks, on the 12th of February. In the same month, Demerara, Essequibo, and Montserrat, were captured by the French ; the Bahamas were also reduced by a considerable force under Don Manuel de Cigagal, governor of the Havannah, to the obedience of the crown of Spain. On the 19th of February Admiral Rodney arrived in the West Indies with a strong reinforcement of ships from England, and resumed the command. Great preparations were now making, both by the French and Spaniards, for the invasion of Jamaica ; and as the combined force of these nations amounted to above sixty sail of the line, had a junction been effected, the island must have been lost. Sir George Rodney's first object was to intercept a large convoy of troops, provisions, &c. expected from Europe, but the enemy found means to escape his vigilance, and arrived safe at Fort-royal on the 21st of March. It was the intention of De Grasse to proceed to Hispaniola, and

join the Spanish admiral, Don Solano, who was awaiting his arrival, to make, in conjunction, the pre-concerted attack on Jamaica. On the 8th of April, at day-break, the French fleet left the harbour of Fort-royal: Admiral Rodney instantly made the signal for a general chase; and, early the next morning, he came up with the enemy under Dominique, where the van of the English engaged the rear of the French: the continued calms, however, prevented a general or close action. In the morning of the 11th a fresh gale sprang up; the chase was renewed; and, towards evening, the headmost ships of the van gained so much on one or two of the enemy's ships, damaged in the late action, that De Grasse thought it necessary to bear down for the purpose of protecting them. Sir George Rodney, who had eagerly watched and waited for this opportunity, now manœuvred the fleet with such skill, as to gain the windward of the enemy during the night, and entirely to prevent their retreat. At seven in the morning of the 12th the two fleets, ranged in lines directly opposite, engaged with the greatest fury. Rodney's fleet amounted to thirty-six sail of the line; that of De Grasse only to thirty-four, but higher rates, with superior weight of metal. The French ships being crowded with men, the carnage was prodigious; but no visible impression was made, till about noon, when Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, followed by the *Namur* and the *Duke*, successfully broke through their line, about three ships short of the centre, where the Count de Grasse commanded in the *Ville de Paris*. Promptly supported by the remainder of his division, Sir George wore round close upon the enemy, and actually separated their line, placing the central ships of the French between two fires. This manœuvre proved decisive. The French, however, continued to fight with the utmost bravery, and the battle lasted till

sun-set. The *Cæsar* was the first ship which struck her colours, having lost her captain, and being reduced to a wreck by her adversary's fire. Soon afterwards she blew up, and all her crew perished. The *Glorieux*, the *Hector*, the *Ardent*, followed the example of the *Cæsar*; and the *Diadem* went down by a single broadside. The *Ville de Paris* still held out, though reduced to a perfect wreck, till having three men only left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, she struck to Admiral Hood, in the *Barfleur*, just at sun-set. Night only closed the action: the shattered remains of the French fleet crowded all the sail they could make for Cape François, and in the morning were out of sight. Sir Samuel Hood being detached to pursue them, came up with five sail off Porto Rico, and captured the *Jason* and *Caton* ships of the line, and two frigates; the third with difficulty clearing the Mona passage. This was justly considered as one of the most glorious and decisive victories ever obtained by the naval prowess of Britain. The number of men slain in this action, and in that of the 9th, on the part of the French, is estimated at 3000 men, and the wounded were nearly double; so that, taking the prisoners on board the captured ships also into the computation, the French must have sustained a loss of 10,000 or 12,000 men. Their fleet had on board the land forces intended for the Jamaica expedition; and the whole train of artillery, with thirty-six chests of money destined for the use and subsistence of the troops, were found on board the *Ville de Paris*, and the other captured ships. The loss of men on the part of the English, including killed and wounded, was about 1100. Lord Robert Manners, who commanded the *Resolution*, only brother to the Duke of Rutland, was mortally wounded. Sir George Bridges Rodney was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Rodney, and a perpetual annuity of 2000*l.* was annex-

ed to the title. A motion, overruled in the preceding session of Parliament, but intended to be revived by the present ministry, for an inquiry into the conduct of the naval and military commanders at St. Eustatia, was now lost sight of; and the admiral received the unanimous thanks of both Houses.

North America afforded no military transaction of any consequence during this period. But the campaign in Europe was rendered memorable by an event which reflected no less honour on the British arms than Rodney's exploit in the West Indies. This was General Elliot's defence of Gibraltar against the last desperate and unparalleled efforts of the Spanish monarchy. The Duke de Crillon, conqueror of Minorca, was now appointed to conduct the siege; a number of floating batteries were constructed upon a model, which, it was imagined, would secure them from being either sunk or fired, and the preparations, in other respects, were enormous. Above eighty gun-boats and bomb-ketches were to second the operations of the floating batteries, with a multitude of frigates and smaller vessels, while the combined fleets, amounting to fifty sail of the line, were to cover and support the attack. Some princes of the blood and many of the French nobility had repaired to the Spanish camp, to witness the inevitable fall of the fortress; and, on the 13th of September, when the rock was to be crumbled into dust, the surrounding hills were covered with people, as though all Spain were assembled to behold the spectacle. The day closed in a manner widely different from their expectations: the floating batteries were all consumed by the prodigious and unintermitted showers of red-hot balls that issued from the garrison; and above 1500 of the Spaniards were supposed to have perished in this fiery conflict. To complete the triumph of the English, Lord Howe soon after performed the signal and perilous service of relieving

Gibraltar, in the very face of the enemy, and under such circumstances of inferiority in force, as not only to support, but highly to exalt, the naval renown of his country. The governor, General Elliot, for his gallant and heroic defence, was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Heathfield, and a pension annexed to the title, equal in amount to that which had been granted to Sir George Rodney. This was the last affair of importance during the continuance of the war in Europe; and thus the military career of Britain, after her repeated misfortunes, terminated with great splendour.

All the belligerent powers were now inclined to listen to overtures of pacification. The independence of America being virtually recognised by England, and a resolution against offensive operations having passed the House of Commons, the war with the colonies, during the continuance of which the national debt of the mother country had been increased 100,000,000*l.*, was in fact at an end. The original purpose of France being accomplished, she could have no motive to persevere in a contest, the expense of which was enormous, and the farther success uncertain. Spain, after extraordinary exertions, having failed in both her grand objects, the recovery of Gibraltar and the conquest of Jamaica, had little reason to flatter herself that her future efforts would be more effectual than the past: and Holland would neither have the inclination nor the ability to continue the war alone. During the negotiation with France and Spain, protracted chiefly in consequence of the demand in which Spain for some time persisted of the cession of Gibraltar, provisional articles between Great Britain and America were signed on the 30th of November, by which the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent states; and, by a boundary line drawn much in their favour, the country southward of the

lakes on both sides of the Ohio, and eastward of the Mississippi, was ceded to them, with a full participation of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and the gulf of St. Lawrence. In return, the congress engaged to *recommend* to the several states to provide for the restitution of the confiscated estates of the loyalists; but the recommendation eventually proved nugatory and useless, and this unfortunate portion of his Majesty's subjects migrated in great numbers to the wilds of Nova Scotia and the Bahamas.

Parliament was opened on the 5th of December, with a speech from the throne, in which the King deplored the dismemberment of the empire, which had become a matter both of policy and prudence; but testified a hope that religion, language, interest, and affection, would yet prove a permanent tie of union between the two countries. Addresses were voted in both Houses without a division; but some severe remarks having been made in the House of Peers on the inconsistency of the minister, who had at a former period so strongly opposed the recognition of American independence, his lordship declared that he had exerted every effort to preserve America to this country; that he had not voluntarily yielded up this independency—he had merely submitted to the controlling power of necessity and fate. “It was not I,” said he, “that made this cession—it was the evil star of Britain—it was the blunders of a former administration—it was the power of revolted subjects, and the mighty arms of the house of Bourbon.”

As it was not publicly known, whether the acknowledgment of independency was absolute or conditional, and as Lord Shelburne declined to communicate any particulars of a negotiation which was actually pending, Mr. Fox moved, in the Commons, an address to the King, to lay before the House

copies of such parts of the provisional articles as related to the same. This, however, was opposed, as inexpedient and improper, and the motion was negatived by 219 against 46. On the 23d of December, the Parliament, after voting 100,000 seamen and marines for the service of the ensuing year, adjourned to the 21st of January, 1783; the day preceding which, preliminary articles of peace were signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, and were laid before the two Houses on the 17th of February. By this treaty, Great Britain guaranteed to France the island of Tobago, and restored that of St. Lucia; also the settlements of Goree and Senegal, in Africa; and Pondicherry, with other conquests, in the east. France, on her part, agreed to restore all her conquests in the West Indies, except Tobago. His Catholic Majesty was allowed to retain Minorca and West Florida, East Florida being also ceded in exchange for the Bahamas, which the governor of the Havannah had taken in the beginning of the last year. The demands of the Dutch, not only to have their settlements restored without giving any thing in return, but to be indemnified for the losses and expences of the war, impeded for the present the conclusion of the treaty with those states. An address of thanks and approbation was carried in the Lords by a majority of 72 to 59; but, in the Lower House, an amendment, withholding such approbation, yet assuring his Majesty of their firm determination to adhere to the several articles, for which the public faith had been pledged, was supported by the combined adherents of Lord North and Mr. Fox, who seemed to forget all past animosities in a sudden league of interest and policy. The latter, after reprobating the peace as the most disastrous and humiliating that had ever disgraced any country, said, he had been accused of having formed an union with the noble lord whose

principles he had opposed for several years of his life; but the grounds of their opposition were removed, and he did not conceive it to be honourable to keep up animosities for ever. He was happy at all times to have a proper opportunity to bury his resentments, and it was the wish of his heart that his friendships should never die. The American war was the source of his disagreement with the noble lord; and that cause of enmity being now no more, it was wise and fit to put an end to the ill-will, the animosity, the feuds, and the rancour, which it engendered. It was a satisfaction to him to apply the appellation of friend to the noble lord; he had found him honourable as an adversary, and he had no doubt of his openness and sincerity as a friend. This declaration was indignantly received by a considerable part of the House. Mr. Powys said, "this was the age of strange confederacies. The world had seen great and arbitrary despots stand forth as the protectors of an infant republic—France and Spain had combined to establish the rising liberties of America. The House now surveyed the counterpart of this picture—a monstrous coalition had taken place between a noble lord and an illustrious commoner—the lofty asserter of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worshippers of the majesty of the people." On a division, the amendment was carried, by 224 against 208 voices.

The advantages and disadvantages of the peace, were repeatedly discussed in Parliament, with much ability, by the leaders of the contending parties; but on every renewed debate, the opposition evidently gained ground. At length, on the 21st of February, Lord John Cavendish, by moving the following resolution, among others, in a very full House, brought the strength of the parties to a final issue: "That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain by the provisional treaty, and the preliminary articles,

are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength." A vehement debate arose on this resolution. Lord North expressed his amazement at the reflections which had been thrown out against him. He did not repent of his conduct while a minister; conscious of his own innocence, he bade defiance to censure or punishment. Proud as he was of the coalition to which he had been invited, it should be understood that he was not disposed to make any sacrifice of his public principles. He dreaded no accusation, and he dared his enemies, whatever might be their abilities, their influence, and their character, to be decisive, and to proceed against him. The question was carried against the ministry, by 207 to 190.

It was now obvious that some change in administration must take place, and the House of Commons adjourned from time to time, with the view of forwarding a new arrangement. The coalition, confident of their strength, were determined to enter into power upon such terms only as would leave them at perfect liberty to act for themselves, without restraint or control, and the ministry were disposed to form an administration that would admit as few as possible of their adversaries, for which purpose some fruitless attempts were made to disunite the members of the new association. Conferences with the King were repeatedly held on the subject of a change of ministers, and were as repeatedly unsuccessful. From these ineffectual endeavours to accommodate party views, the business of the nation was suspended, and more than a month passed in a kind of ministerial interregnum. The want of an efficient government could be at no time more severely felt than at this. At home the disembodiment of the militia, the discharge of seamen, the reduction of soldiers, the neglect of giving them

their pay, and the spirit of turbulence natural to men accustomed to arms, contributed to fill Portsmouth and Plymouth with tumult and confusion, and spread mutinies and riots all over the kingdom. But these were not the only matters that called for the attention of government: our negotiations with foreign powers were not brought to an end. No definitive treaty was concluded with France and Spain; no commercial alliance was adjusted with America; and the East India Company required the immediate aid of Parliament, both with regard to its foreign and domestic concerns.

Such was the state of public affairs, when Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, moved, on the 24th of March, an address to the King, "that he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and condescend to a compliance with the wishes of this House, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of his people." This was unanimously carried, and presented to the King, who replied, that it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful Commons. This answer not being deemed sufficiently explicit, Lord Surrey moved another address, which, however, was withdrawn, on Mr. Pitt declaring that he had resigned his office of chancellor of the exchequer.

In consequence of this resignation, the Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury; Lord John Cavendish was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer; Lord North and Mr. Fox were nominated joint secretaries of state, the first for the home, the latter for the foreign department; Lord Keppel, who had recently resigned on account of his disapprobation of the peace, was again placed at the head of the admiralty; Lord Stormont was created president of the council; Lord Carlisle was

advanced to the post of lord privy-seal ; the great seal was put into commission, the Chief Justice Loughborough, so distinguished for political versatility, “ who could change and change and yet go on,” being declared first lord commissioner ; the Earl of Northington was appointed to the government of Ireland ; Viscount Townshend was made master-general of the ordnance ; Lord Sandwich ranger of the parks ; and Mr. Burke reinstated in his former post of paymaster of the forces.

Of the seven cabinet ministers, the majority were of the old whig or Rockingham party, and occupied the most important posts ; Lords Stormont, North, and Carlisle, contenting themselves rather with a participation of honours and emoluments, than of power : notwithstanding, therefore, the admission of those tory lords into the ministry, it could not but be acknowledged, as to all the grand purposes of government, a whig administration : more especially when the ability, the vigour, and the decision of its efficient leader were duly estimated. A junction of persons, however, whose principles were radically hostile, and which no effort of art, or length of time, could assimilate, was not a measure likely to conciliate universal esteem ; and though the coalition were enabled to support successfully the most violent contest for power that perhaps is to be found in the political history of this country, and ultimately to wrest the government from their antagonists, yet it operated to diminish public confidence in their measures ; and therefore, while it obtained them a complete conquest, it deprived them of the more solid advantages of victory.

Amongst the earliest measures of the new ministry was the passing of a bill, already pending, for the purpose of preventing any writs of error or appeal from the kingdom of Ireland from being received by any of his Majesty's courts in Great

Britain, and of renouncing, in express terms, the legislative authority of the British Parliament in relation to Ireland. Mr. Fox lost no time in attempting to remove every obstacle which opposed the opening an immediate intercourse with America, and early in April moved for liberty to bring in a bill for preventing any manifesto, certificate, or other document, being required from any ships belonging to the United States of America, at any port of this kingdom. The bill, in its original shape, was supposed to go too far, by extending an indulgence that might be made subservient to the practice of smuggling; an amendment was therefore adopted, limiting for a certain time the powers to be vested in the King, after which it was carried through the Commons, and with some slight opposition passed the Lords.

The very critical situation of our affairs in the east next engaged the attention of Parliament. The House of Commons having appointed a select committee to examine into the state of the British dominions in India, it was discovered that the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had been perverted to purposes of peculation, plunder, and oppression, and that corruption, fraud, and injustice, pervaded the company's government in India. In consequence of these discoveries, a general unity of opinion prevailed amongst public men on the immediate necessity of taking some effectual step, to rescue the British name from disgrace, to restore to the natives the pure administration of mild and equal laws, and to secure and improve our territorial possessions in India. With this view, the lord advocate for Scotland introduced a bill into the House of Commons, which had for its object the establishment of a government better adapted to the dispositions, habits, and prejudices of the inhabitants, than any

hitherto attempted. But as this bill was afterwards superseded by one from another quarter, more extensive in its views, it is here unnecessary to detail its regulations. In a few days after the disclosure of the defects and abuses of Indian government, a bill was introduced by Sir Henry Fletcher, "for suspending the payments of the company now due to the royal exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the sum of 300,000*l.* for their farther relief." Lord John Cavendish declared this bill to be only a branch of a larger plan; and that it was brought forward separately, in order to answer an exigency which did not admit of delay. His lordship viewed the territorial acquisitions of the company as a fruitful source of grievance, and observed that it would have been more for their advantage, had they confined themselves to the character of merchants. As these acquisitions, however, had been made, they must, he said, be preserved, and it was his opinion that the relief necessary to the company should be granted. In the Upper House, Lord Fitzwilliam affirmed, that, unless the bill passed, their bankruptcy would be inevitable. The expenditure of their settlements had far exceeded their revenue; bills had been drawn upon them which they were unable to answer without a temporary supply, so that the existence of the company depended upon the success of the bill; which accordingly passed both Houses with little opposition.

About this period intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace with the Mahrattas. This event, which opened a prospect of a favourable change to our affairs in the east, was soon followed by the death of Hyder Ally, a man, eminently distinguished for an enterprising spirit, resources, and vigour of mind; who entertained the most rooted aversion to the English name; and who by his power, courage, and military skill, had long

proved himself the most daring and formidable of all the company's enemies.

On the 16th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his plan for raising 12,000,000*l.* by loan, which underwent much censure on account of the high premium it speedily bore. The money borrowed was funded at three *per cent.* at the rate of 150*l.* stock, for every 100*l.* sterling; so that an artificial capital of 6,000,000*l.* was created above the sum actually paid into the exchequer.

The former motion of Mr. Pitt for an inquiry into the state of the representation having been negatived, he brought forward, on the 7th of May, a specific plan for adding 100 members to the counties, and abolishing a proportionable number of the burgage-tenure, and other small boroughs. The revival of this important subject, which had deeply agitated the public mind, produced an animated debate; in the course of which Lord North declared, that while some, with Lear, demanded an hundred knights, and others, with Goneril, were satisfied with fifty, he, with Regan, exclaimed, No, not one. His lordship denied that the House of Commons had not its full and proper weight in the scale of government; his political life was a proof that it had. It was to them he was indebted for his rise, and they had pulled him down. Mr. Fox, whose opinion on this great question was totally irreconcilable with that of his brother secretary, stated, that in his opinion the constitution required innovation and renovation: its nature exposed it to change; and its beauty did not consist in theory but in practice. The lord advocate for Scotland, who had distinguished himself by his zeal for high prerogative, became, on this occasion, a convert to the doctrine of reform, and asserted his entire approbation of Mr. Pitt's resolutions. This unex-

pected support effected a cordial and lasting union between those two celebrated characters : Mr. Pitt's motion was, however, lost by a majority of 293 to 149. A motion for shortening the duration of parliaments, brought forward by Alderman Sawbridge on the 16th of May, was also lost by 123 to 56.

In a committee on a bill for regulating certain offices in the exchequer, Lord John Cavendish proposed that after the interest of the present auditors and tellers of the exchequer, and the clerk of the pells, should expire, the salaries of them should be fixed and certain; and a rate was adopted, according to which, on an average of peace and war, they would be reduced nearly one half.

A bill for regulating the trade of the African Company having been introduced towards the close of the session, with a clause prohibiting the officers of the company from exporting negroes, the Quakers embraced the occasion to petition the House of Commons, that the clause in question might be extended to all persons whatsoever; professing themselves deeply affected with the consideration of the rapine, oppression, and blood, attending this traffic. "Under the countenance of the laws of this country." the petitioners remark, "many thousands of these our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, are held as personal property in cruel bondage. Your petitioners regret that a nation professing the Christian faith should so far counteract the principles of humanity and justice." This petition strongly excited the attention of the public, and laid the foundation of the subsequent efforts to effect a total abolition of this commerce.

The only remaining subject of importance which engaged the attention of Parliament, was a message from the King to both Houses, requiring a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales,

who was now arrived at the age of maturity. His Majesty agreed to allow to the heir-apparent 50,000*l.* a-year out of the civil list ; but in consideration that the revenue so reduced could not bear any further burden, Parliament granted to the King an aid of 60,000*l.* to equip the Prince in a manner suited to his dignity.

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th of July, by a speech in which the King intimated his intention of calling them together at an early period, to resume the consideration of the affairs of India.

In the course of the summer few material events occurred deserving of particular notice. The King, by virtue of an act passed for that purpose, issued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the British West India islands, to ships British built. This was conformable to the grand principle on which the act of navigation was originally founded ; and though this restriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States, they had certainly no just reason to complain, as they could have no possible right to claim the advantages of dependence and independence at one and the same time.

On the 3d of September the definitive treaties of peace with France, Spain, and America, were with some alteration signed ; and also preliminaries of peace with the States General, by which all the conquests of England were restored, except the town of Negapatam on the coast of Coromandel, which their High Mightinesses were at last most reluctantly compelled to cede. About this time, an ambassador from the United States of America, Mr. Adams, arrived in London. On his first audience at St. James's, the King, addressing Mr. Adams with much courtesy, said, that he had been the last man in his kingdom who had assented to the recognition of American independence ; but, now it was

actually established, he would be the last man in the kingdom to sanction a violation of it.

The unexpected and uncommon events connected with the history of the ensuing session require, for their better elucidation, a brief sketch of the state of parties at the convening of Parliament. The coalition administration was universally acknowledged to be able, powerful, and active; it embraced a happy combination of native genius and matured experience, of spirited adventure and sagacious hesitation; and as these qualities were not unattended with a due proportion of weight, connexion, and interest, their friends thought that such an administration comprised in it all that was requisite to heal the wounds, restore the prosperity, and recover the honour of Britain. But the same considerations that inspired their advocates with hope, were regarded by their opponents as the fruitful sources of terror and misfortune. Their ability would be found only an ability to plan the destruction of their country; their influence an influence that would carry the worst measures as easily as the best; and their activity a restless enemy, against which, precaution and vigilance could be no protection. Such was in general the language of the opponents of administration. One class, who thought impropriety of private conduct incompatible with public virtue, or who conceived that ample property was the most eligible security for ministerial rectitude, were by no means pleased to see Mr. Fox placed in so conspicuous a station. Another, and that a very numerous one, had contracted such an extreme aversion to Lord North's administration, that they could never be reconciled to his lordship's restoration to power, on any terms. A third party, of tory principles, entertained a rooted dislike of administration, because, in their opinion, they had daringly trenched on the

acred prerogative of majesty, and had "taken the closet of the Sovereign by storm." From this extreme difference of opinion between the adverse parties on the merits and demerits of administration, something may be collected of the spirit and views of each at the period of convening Parliament, which took place so early as the 11th of November, when his Majesty, after noticing the conclusion of peace with France, Spain, and America, and the ratification of the preliminary articles with the States General, stated that the utmost exertions of their wisdom would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces. The address passed without opposition.

The embarrassments of the East India Company requiring immediate attention, Mr. Fox, on the 18th of November, moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting their affairs in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietary and the public. This celebrated bill proposed to take at once, from the directors and proprietors, the entire administration, both of their territorial and commercial affairs; and to vest the management and direction of them in the hands of seven commissioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either House of Parliament. These were, Earl Fitzwilliam, president of the board; Viscount Lewisham, the Right Hon. Frederic Montague, the Hon. George Augustus North, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir Henry Fletcher, baronets; and Robert Gregory, Esq., who, it was remarked, were divided upon the model and in the same proportion as the members of the cabinet. They were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named,

in the first instance, by Parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors. The bill empowered these commissioners and directors to enter immediately into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, vessels, goods, merchandise, and securities, in trust for the company. They were required to come to a decision upon every question within a limited time, or to assign a specific reason for delay. They were never to vote by ballot, and they were almost in all cases to enter upon their journals the reasons of their vote. They were to submit, once in every six months, an exact state of their accounts to the court of proprietors, and at the beginning of every session to present a statement of their affairs to both Houses of Parliament. This act was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election, and it was accompanied by a second bill for the future government of the British territories in Hindoostan. It took from the governor-general all power of acting independently of his council. It declared every existing British power in India incompetent to the acquisition or exchange of any territory in behalf of the company; to the acceding to any treaty of partition; to the hiring out the company's troops; to the appointment to office of any person removed for misdemeanor; and to the hiring out any property to any civil servant of the company. It prohibited all monopolies; and also declared every illegal present recoverable by any person for his own sole benefit. It employed effectual means to secure the zemindars, or native landholders, in the possession of their respective inheritances, and to preclude all vexatious and usurious claims that might be made upon them; mortgages were therefore prohibited, and doubtful claims subjected to the examination of the commissioners.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the sensation

excited in the House of Commons by the disclosure of this system. It was espoused with zeal and enthusiasm by the friends of the minister; and attacked by his opponents with all the vehemence of indignation, and all the energy of invective. It was on one side of the House extolled as a masterpiece of genius, virtue, and ability; while on the other it was reprobated as a deep and dangerous design, fraught with mischief and ruin. Mr. Pitt distinguished himself on this occasion as a formidable adversary of the minister. He acknowledged, "that India indeed wanted a reform, but not such a reform as this: it wanted a constitutional alteration, and not a tyrannical one, that broke through every principle of equity and justice. By the bill before the House an attack was made on the most solemn charters: it pointed a fatal blow against the faith and integrity of Parliament: it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The principle of this bill once established, what security had the other public companies of the kingdom? What security had the Bank of England? What security had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or, indeed, what assurance could we have for the great charter itself, the foundation of all our liberties? It would be folly in the extreme to suppose that the principle, once admitted, would operate only on the present occasion. Good principles might sleep, but bad ones never. It was the curse of society, that when a bad principle was once established, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect. The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property, and a disfranchisement of the members of the East India Company; all the several articles of whose effects were transferred by violence to strangers. Imagination was at a loss to guess at the most insignificant trifle that had escaped the

harpy jaws of a ravenous coalition. The power was pretended, indeed, to be given in trust for the benefit of the proprietors ; but in case of the grossest abuse of trust, to whom was the appeal ? To the proprietors ? No ;—to the majority of either House of Parliament, which the most contemptible minister could not fail to secure, with the patronage of above 2,000,000*l.* sterling given by this bill. The influence which would accrue from this bill—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence—was indeed in the highest degree alarming. Seven commissioners chosen ostensibly by Parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treasures of India. The right honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition ; and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the King, the Parliament, and the people, at the shrine of his ambition. He desired to elevate his present connexions to a situation in which no political convulsions, and no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and terminate their ascendancy.” These and similar arguments were also ably enforced by the lord advocate, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Grenville, &c. On the other hand, Mr. Fox vindicated the bill with great ability. To the charge of violating the company’s charters, he replied, that they had been again and again altered to a great extent. He had been warned by his opponents against palliatives and half-measures ; and he should be glad to hear how it was possible to adopt a new system, by parliamentary authority, without striking at those charters, which entitled the company to continue the old one. He had adverted to the plea of necessity ; and it was objected to him that necessity was the creed of slaves. He would tell those objectors, that it was also the creed of freemen. Every syllable that had been uttered re-

specting the intangibility of claims made venerable by prescription and parchments, was a battery against the main pillars of the British constitution. "I am also," continued Mr. Fox, "charged with increasing the influence, and giving an immense accession of power to the crown : but certainly this bill as little augments the influence of the crown, as any measure that can be devised for the government of India, with the slightest promise of success. The very genius of influence consists in hope or fear ; fear of losing what we have, or hope of gaining more. Make the commissioners removeable at will, and you set all the little passions of human nature afloat. Invest them with power upon the same tenure as the British judges hold their station,—removeable upon delinquency, punishable upon guilt, but fearless of danger if they discharge their trust—and they will be liable to no seducement, and will execute their functions with glory to themselves, and for the common good of the country and mankind. This bill presumes the possibility of bad administration, for every word in it breathes suspicion. It supposes that men are but men ; it confides in no integrity ; it trusts to no character ; it annexes responsibility, not only to every action, but even to the inaction of the powers it has created. I will risk my all upon the excellence of this bill. I will risk upon it whatever is most dear to me, whatever men most value, the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation, and future fame : these will I stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of the measure. Whatever, therefore, may be the fate of its authors, I have no fear that it will produce to this country every blessing of commerce and revenue ; and, by extending a generous and humane government over those millions whom the inscrutable dispensations of Providence have

placed under us in the remotest regions of the earth, it will consecrate the name of England among the noblest of nations."

While the bill was pending in the Commons, a petition was presented by the East India Company, representing the measure as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property without charging against them any specific delinquency ; without trial ; without conviction—a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects—and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill. The city of London also presented a strong petition to the same effect ; but the bill was carried with uncommon rapidity through all its states in the Commons by decisive majorities ; the division, on the second reading, being 217 to 103 voices.

On the 9th of December Mr. Fox, attended by a numerous train of members, presented the bill at the bar of the Lords. On this occasion, Earl Temple declared, that he was happy to embrace the first opportunity of entering his protest against so infamous a bill—against a stretch of power so truly alarming, and that went near to seize upon the most inestimable part of our constitution—our chartered rights. Lord Thurlow, on the same side, asserted that, in the first instance, the bill was an atrocious violation of private property, and could only be justified by the strongest necessity ; that if such necessity existed, it must be proved by evidence at the bar of the House, and not by reports from a committee, to which he should pay as much attention as to the romance of Robinson Crusoe. Could Parliament forget that the politics of this country had involved the company in an extensive and ruinous war ? and that while we encountered loss, misfortune, and disgrace in every other part of the globe, this delinquent company had surmounted

the most astonishing difficulties in India? Would Parliament forget, that when peace was restored to this unfortunate country, the conquests of this delinquent company were given up to prevent farther sacrifices of our most favourite possessions? The second reading took place on the 15th of December, when counsel was heard at the bar in behalf of the company: and on the 17th it was moved that the bill be rejected. On this occasion Lord Camden said, that, were this bill to pass into a law, we should see the King of England and the King of Bengal contending for superiority in the British Parliament. After a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by 95 against 76 voices.

As the first divisions in the Upper House were favourable to this bill, it will naturally be imagined that such a sudden and remarkable change of sentiment must have been occasioned by the intervention of some powerful cause, adequate to so extraordinary and unexpected an effect. This event, though not susceptible of legal demonstration, has been sufficiently ascertained to deserve a place in history. On the 11th of December Earl Temple had a conference with the King, in which, having fully explained his ideas on the nature and tendency of the bill, the Sovereign became at once a complete convert to the views of opposition. In consequence of this change of sentiment, the royal indignation was excited in a very high degree, the monarch considering himself as having been duped and deceived by his confidential servants; and a card was immediately written, stating, that "his Majesty allowed Earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only *not his* friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy. And if these words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose." An interference of so ex-

traordinary a nature was not likely to pass without animadversion: Mr. William Baker, accordingly, moved the House of Commons, on the very day that the bill was rejected by the Lords, "that it was now necessary to declare, that, to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of the King upon any bill, or other proceeding depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was a high crime and misdemeanor." Earl Nugent, father-in-law to Earl Temple, declared, that the resolutions before them went to the utter annihilation of sovereignty. What! said he, were not peers, by their rank and situation, hereditary counsellors of the crown?—Would that House dare to derogate from the high dignity which the constitution had annexed to their station? Every peer, and indeed every commoner, under certain restrictions, had a right to address the sovereign. But the tendency of these resolutions was to make the monarch a kind of prisoner of state, and to shut him up from every species of information unacceptable to the existing administration. Were any relation of his, in a crisis of difficulty and danger, to convey truths to his sovereign of high importance to be known, though at the risk of incurring the utmost punishment which the indignation of that House could inflict, he should consider his conduct not merely as justifiable, but transcendently meritorious, and such as would transmit his name with honour to the latest posterity. Mr. Pitt treated the motion lightly, and represented it as unworthy the dignity of the House to found any resolutions upon rumours and hearsays. Mr. Fox replied with great eloquence: "I ever stood," said he, "and wish only to stand on public ground: I have too much pride ever to owe any thing to secret influence: I will not even be the minister of a great and free people on any condition derogatory to my

honour as a gentleman. It is impossible," continued he, "not to be surprised at the extreme eagerness of the honourable gentleman, Mr. Pitt, about our places. If, however, a change must take place, and a new ministry is to be formed and supported, not by the confidence of this House or the public, but the sole authority of the crown, I, for one, shall not envy the honourable gentleman his situation. From that moment I put in my claim to a monopoly of whig principles. The glorious cause of freedom, of independence, and of the constitution, is no longer his, but mine. In this I have lived; in this I will die. It has borne me up under every aspersion to which my character has been subjected. The resentments of the mean, and the aversion of the great; the rancour of the vindictive, and the subtilty of the base; the dereliction of friends, and the efforts of enemies, have not all diverted me from the line of conduct which I had originally chosen." After an animated debate, Mr. Baker's resolution was carried by a majority of 153 to 80. A dissolution of Parliament being now apprehended, Mr. Erskine moved, immediately after the above resolution, that whoever should prevent, or advise his Majesty to prevent that House from discharging their duty in remedying the abuses which prevailed in the government of the British dominions in the East Indies, should be considered by them as an enemy to his country. The motion was carried by a great majority.

This contest between the Crown and the Commons presented a novel and interesting scene. Prerogative and privilege at war is one of those alarming events which the wisdom of preceding reigns had taken care to prevent; the Crown, therefore, boldly entering the lists with the Commons, exhibited a conduct without example in the annals of the present royal family. On the other hand,

the situation of the Prince was critical, having gone perhaps too far to be able to recede. He had certainly shown much displeasure against his ministers, in a style rather of hostility than of conciliation; and to have submitted to a recantation might have been deemed a signal dishonour. Besides these difficulties, which such a case must at all times have involved, there was one peculiar to the present crisis. The ministers were committed upon their Indian system, and could not, without a total sacrifice of personal independence and the reputation of principle, abandon the scheme. In the meantime the Sovereign had declared himself, in the most peremptory terms, adverse to the measure; and, under such circumstances, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to discover a medium to preserve, unwounded, the honour of both. An entire change of administration was therefore determined upon; and, accordingly, at midnight, on the 18th of December, a royal message was sent to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their several departments, and at the same time directing that they should be delivered to the Sovereign by the under secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. Early next morning letters of dismissal, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. In a few days after, Mr. Pitt, then at the age of 24, was declared first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the Marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. Thomas Townshend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated secretaries of state; Lord Thurlow was reinstated as lord-chancellor; Earl Gower as president of the council; the Duke of Rutland was constituted lord privy-seal; Lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty; and the Duke of Richmond of the ordnance. The Earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to

which Lord Temple, who had retained the seals of secretary only three days, was again appointed to succeed. The Earl of Shelburne was not included in the new arrangement. As this change in the ministry left the majority of the House of Commons in a state of opposition, it was not doubted that a dissolution of Parliament was in contemplation, and on the 22d of December, in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved, "that an address be presented to the King, stating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended dissolution of Parliament, and humbly representing to his Majesty the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or dissolution in the present conjuncture; and entreating the Sovereign to hearken to the advice of that House, and not to the secret advice of particular persons who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of the King and people."—This address was carried without a division, and on the 24th was presented to the Sovereign, who returned the following answer:—"Gentlemen, it has been my constant object to employ the authority intrusted to me by the constitution to its true and only end—the good of my people; and I am always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of my faithful Commons. I agree with you in thinking that the support of the public credit and revenue must demand your most earnest and vigilant care. The state of the East Indies is also an object of as much delicacy and importance as can exercise the wisdom and justice of Parliament. I trust you will proceed in these considerations with all convenient speed, after such an adjournment as the present circumstances may seem to require; and I assure you, that I shall not interrupt your meeting by any exercise of my prerogative either of prorogation or dissolution."

In this extraordinary situation of political affairs, the House adjourned for the usual Christmas recess to the 12th of January, 1784 ; on which day the committee on the state of the nation was resumed, and several resolutions were brought forward by Mr. Fox, and agreed to by the House, prohibiting the lords of the treasury from assenting to the acceptance of the company's bill from India ; forbidding also the issue of any of the public money after a prorogation or dissolution of Parliament, unless the act of appropriation shall have previously passed, and ordering accounts to be laid before the House of the monies already issued. With the same view, the second reading of the mutiny bill was deferred to the 23d of February. The immediate dissolution of Parliament being thus far rendered impracticable, the following resolutions were moved by the Earl of Surrey :—" 1. That in the present situation of his Majesty's dominions it was peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration that had the confidence of the public. 2. That the late changes in his Majesty's councils were accompanied with circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate the confidence of that House." On this motion the House divided, but it was carried in the affirmative by 196 to 142 voices. On the 16th of January a resolution was moved by Lord Charles Spencer, " that the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility, was contrary to the principles of the constitution, and injurious to the interests of the King and people." Upon this question the House divided, ayes 205, noes 184 ; so that the anti-ministerial majority was reduced to 21 voices.

On the 14th of January Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better government of India, on principles which left the commercial

concerns of the company in their own hands ; and established a board of control, consisting of certain commissioners appointed by the King, possessing a negative on the proceedings of the company in all matters of government. The bill was read a second time the 23d of January ; but on the motion of commitment was lost by 222 against 214.

Though the dismissal of the late ministers originated, on the part of the crown, from a sudden and strong resentment at a supposed invasion of the prerogative, the monarch acquired a popularity by the measure that effaced for a time all recollection of former disagreements, and elevated the loyalty of the people to an extraordinary degree of ardour. Every effort, however, of the new administration to secure an ascendancy in the House of Commons still failed, although the opposition could not long expect to possess the ground they now occupied. Addresses of thanks to the King for their late removal from power, in which the city of London took the lead in an unusual strain of loyalty, poured in from all quarters ; their numbers were daily falling off ; and, under such circumstances, the most sanguine could not hope for ultimate success. Both parties, therefore, alarmed at the novel and dangerous situation of the country, seemed at length disposed to pause ; and several independent members of the House of Commons, desirous of putting an end to this disordered state of things, by promoting a coalition between the parties, held meetings for that purpose at the St. Alban's Tavern, where they drew up an address to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, expressing their wishes for a free communication between them. Both of these persons declared themselves desirous of complying with the wishes of the meeting, but the resignation of Mr. Pitt, which the duke required as a necessary preliminary, could not be obtained. It was then resolved, as

the only remaining expedient that could preserve unsullied the honour of both, without any concession of principle on either side, that a message should be sent from the King to the Duke of Portland, expressing his Majesty's desire that an interview might take place between his grace and Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of arranging a new plan of administration on *fair* and *equal* terms. The duke, previous to such interview, requested to be informed in what sense he was to understand the words *fair* and *equal*; and Mr. Pitt declining any explanation, the negotiation terminated.

The King and the nation at large were now evidently united in sentiment against the Commons; and the House of Peers, who had hitherto remained silent spectators of this extraordinary contest, thought proper to come forward at this time; and, on the motion of the Earl of Effingham, their lordships resolved, "1. That an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the execution of law, by separately assuming to itself the direction of a discretionary power vested by act of Parliament, is unconstitutional. 2. That by the known principles of the constitution, the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government was solely vested in the King; and that this House had every reason to place the firmest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative." These resolutions, in the form of an address, were presented to the King. It was not to be supposed that so direct an attack upon the authority and wisdom of the Commons would be passed over in silence. In return, therefore, they resolved, on the motion of Lord Beauchamp, "1. That the House had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of law; and, 2. That for them to declare their opinion respecting

the exercise of any discretionary power was constitutional, and agreeable to established usage."

The opposition, who were still the majority of the House of Commons, found themselves daily in a more embarrassing situation; but no difficulties, however pressing; no dangers, however formidable, could subdue their spirit, or suspend their exertions. On the 18th of February, previous to the House entering on business, Mr. Pitt stated, in reply to a question whether he had any thing to communicate to the House relative to the resolutions which had been laid before the King, that his Majesty had not yet thought proper to dismiss his ministers, and that his ministers had not resigned. This intimation brought on a long and warm debate, and a motion for postponing the supplies was carried by a majority of 12. The House then adjourned to the 20th, when an address, carried by a majority of 20, was presented to the King, expressive of the reliance the House had on the wisdom of the Sovereign, that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful Commons, by removing every obstacle to the formation of such an administration as the House of Commons had declared to be requisite. His Majesty's answer, which was reported on the 27th, after stating his earnest desire to put an end to the divisions and distractions of the country, observed that there was no specific charge or complaint suggested against his present ministers; and that numbers of his subjects had expressed to him, in the warmest manner, their satisfaction at the late changes. Under these circumstances, he trusted his faithful Commons would not wish that the essential offices of the executive government should be vacated, until such a plan of union as had been called for could be carried into effect. This answer was by no means satisfactory;

and on the 1st of March a yet stronger address was carried, but by a still smaller majority than the last, humbly beseeching his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to lay the foundation of a strong and stable government, *by the previous removal of his present ministers.* To this address, which went directly to the point at issue, and left no room for evasion, the King replied, as before, that no charge, nor complaint, nor any specific objection, was yet made against any of his present ministers; adding, “that if there were any just grounds for their removal, it ought to be equally a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united administration which is stated to be requisite.”

The measure of addressing having been fully and unavailingly tried, and it now appearing unquestionably clear that any farther experiment of this kind would prove nugatory, Mr. Fox, in the following week, moved a *representation* to the crown, a mode of addressing to which no answer was customary, and which, at great length, and in energetic language, stated “the dangerous and pernicious tendency of those measures and maxims, by which a new system of executive government had been set up, which, wanting the confidence of that House, and acting in defiance of their resolutions, must prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous, by its example, to the liberties of the people.” This motion was carried by a majority of *one*, the numbers being 191 to 190, and here the contest finally terminated; for on the following day, Mr. Fox, perceiving himself deserted by many of his partisans, abandoned his original intention of moving the postponement of the mutiny bill, as a security against a sudden dissolution. This step was so evidently to the advantage of the present minis-

ters, that on the 24th of March the Parliament was prorogued, and the next day dissolved by proclamation.

If the origin, progress, and conclusion of this astonishing contest are impartially reviewed, and the principles and conduct of the leading characters candidly examined, it will appear, upon the whole, one of the most extraordinary events to be found in the latter periods of English history. Had the point at issue been only a question of prerogative, the public feeling would have taken another direction, and been expressed in language and addresses very different from the style of those which appeared on this occasion. To ascertain, then, the true causes which combined to produce such a ferment in the public mind against the House of Commons, we must survey the respective situations of the two great leaders, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, at the period of this distinguished contest. The coalition of the former with Lord North, a measure highly obnoxious to national taste, lost this celebrated statesman a considerable portion of public confidence. Such an union, it was conceived, could only be effected by a sacrifice of principle and character; and it produced, therefore, a general opinion, altogether unfavourable to Mr. Fox's reputation. In this situation of the public mind, the India bill presented a theme for copious and interesting declamation, of which Mr. Pitt availed himself so successfully, that every little corporation from the Land's End to John o'Groat's House became alarmed for the security of their charters: the whole country was thrown into a ferment; and the collected clamours of a nation directed against the author of the bill. The defects in Mr. Pitt's public conduct, and the mode he adopted to preserve himself in power were overlooked, whilst the people were gratefully forward to recognise every favourable quality in his

private character. His youth and inexperience were held to be unequivocal proofs of his candour and sincerity; his eloquence in debate was cordially accepted as a pledge for the wisdom of his measures; and the name of Pitt proclaimed him the hereditary heir to the patriot virtues of his sire. Thus, without experiment, did the people of England give the young minister credit for all the splendid characteristics of a great and good statesman; and thus was he enabled to triumph over a powerful antagonist.

The influence of the crown being now combined with the independent interest, added to the whole weight of the East India Company, the general election presented the most unprecedented results. The coalitionists, even those who had stood highest in the estimation of the public, were almost everywhere thrown out, and upwards of 160 members, including many who reckoned their return a matter of course, found themselves deprived of a seat. Mr. Fox himself, to the surprise of all, after a long and violent struggle for the city of Westminster, closed the poll with a majority of 235: but the high bailiff, by a scandalous partiality, refused to make the return in his favour, for which an action was afterwards brought by Mr. Fox, in the court of King's Bench, and 2000*l.* damages were awarded him.

The meeting of Parliament took place on the 18th of May; and from thence we may date the commencement of the parliamentary existence of administration; the remainder of the last session having been spent rather in a contest about places and power, than in the characteristic exertions of a regular government. The King, in his opening speech, expressed great satisfaction at meeting his Parliament at this time, after having recurred in so important a moment to the sense of his people.

He entertained a just and confident reliance, that they were animated by the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution, which had been so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom, and recommended to their most serious consideration to frame suitable provisions for the good government of our possessions in the East Indies. The proposed address contained strong expressions of approbation respecting the late dissolution, which Lord Surrey, on the ground of unanimity, moved to omit; but Mr. Pitt declared, that he would not purchase a hollow unanimity, by passing over a great constitutional measure, which the circumstances of the times had made necessary and wise, and which had given the most entire satisfaction to every part of the kingdom. On this point, therefore, the House divided, and the address, as originally proposed, was carried by a majority of 76 voices; a decisive proof that the dissolution had fully answered its intended purpose.

The business which chiefly occupied the attention of the House and the public for some time was the complaint stated by Mr. Fox, respecting the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, who had refused to make the return in his favour, although he had, on the face of the poll, a large majority. Whilst Mr. Fox was thus precluded from sitting for Westminster, he was returned to Parliament for the Scottish borough of Kirkwall, through the interest of Sir Thomas Dundas. On the 24th of May, a resolution was moved by Mr. Lee, late attorney-general, "that the high bailiff of Westminster, on the day upon which the writ of election expired, ought to have returned two citizens to serve in Parliament for that city." A violent debate ensued; and the previous question having been moved by Sir Lloyd Kenyon, it was ordered that the high bailiff should attend the House the

next day. The pretext on which that officer rested his defence was, that, having ground to suspect the validity of many votes taken in the course of a poll of six weeks' duration, he had granted a scrutiny, till the termination of which, he could not, in conscience, make the return. To this an obvious and decisive answer presented itself. The scrutiny is nothing more than a revision of the poll by the returning officer; and if such revision cannot be completed previous to the period at which the writ is returnable, the officer is bound to make the return agreeably to the poll, as it was actually taken. The law of Parliament even allowed him to include all the candidates in the same return, which would at once have transferred the task and burden of the decision, from his own conscience, to that of the House. After long pleadings by counsel at the bar of the House, on both sides, the motion was renewed, "that the high bailiff be directed forthwith to make the return." This motion was strongly opposed, and finally negatived, by 195 against 117. It was then moved and carried, "that the high bailiff do proceed in the scrutiny with all possible despatch." Thus was this business laid at rest during the present session.

A motion was made by Alderman Sawbridge, on the 16th of June, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament. Mr. Pitt supported the principle of the motion, but contended that the time was improper; and Mr. Dundas, who had supported the proposition last year, objected, that the committee now moved for was a select committee; whereas, it was his opinion, that it should be referred to a committee of the whole House. The motion was lost, by 201 to 127.

Mr. Pitt, whose plan for the future government

of India was anxiously expected, brought in a bill on the 6th of July, founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former Parliament, and to which the company had now given their reluctant assent. By this bill, *a board of control*, composed of a certain number of commissioners, of the rank of privy counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the King, and removeable at his pleasure. This board was authorized to check, superintend, and control, the civil and military government and revenues of the company. The despatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the board, and countersigned by them. The directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching the civil and military government and revenues; and in case such orders do at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to matters not connected therewith, they are empowered to appeal to his Majesty in council, whose decision is declared final. The bill also enacted, that the appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor, in the different presidencies, shall be subject to the approbation and recal of his Majesty. As to the zemindars, or great hereditary landholders of India, the present bill provided, that an inquiry should be instituted, in order to restore such as should appear to have been irregularly and unjustly deprived. Lastly, a high tribunal was created, for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and six members of the House of Commons, who were authorized to judge without appeal; to award, in case of conviction, the punishment of fine and imprisonment; and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving

the East India Company. The management of their commercial concerns was left in the hands of the company, who were divested only of that political power which they had abused, and of that civil authority, to the due exercise of which they had been incompetent. This authority was not transferred to persons, who, like the commissioners of Mr. Fox, might attempt to establish an unconstitutional influence in Parliament, not merely independent of, but in direct opposition to, the regular and constitutional authority of the crown. Mr. Fox observed, that the bill established a weak and inefficient government, by dividing its powers. To the one board belonged the privilege of ordering and contriving measures; to the other, that of carrying them into execution. It was a system, he said, of dark intrigue and delusive art. Theories which did not connect men with measures were not theories for this world. They were chimeras with which a recluse might divert his fancy, but they were not principles on which a statesman would found his system. By the negative vested in the commissioners, the chartered rights of the company, on which such stress had been laid, were insidiously undermined and virtually annihilated. If it were right to vest such powers in a board of privy counsellors, let it be done explicitly and openly, and show the company and the world that what they dared to do, they dared to justify. Founded on principles so heterogeneous, how, he asked, could such a government be other than the constant victim of internal distraction? The appeal allowed from the decisions of the board of control to the privy council was only an appeal from the aggressor transformed into the character of a judge, and was, therefore, in the highest degree, nugatory and ridiculous. Against the clauses of the bill, respecting the zemindars, he entered

his strongest protest. They ought, in his opinion, to be rated by a fixed rule of past periods, and not of a vague and indefinite future inquiry. The new tribunal he stigmatized as a screen for delinquents; as a palpable and unconstitutional violation of the sacred right of a trial by jury. Since no man was to be tried but on the accusation of the company, or the attorney-general, he had only to conciliate government, in order to his remaining in perfect security. It was a part of the general system of deception and delusion; and he would venture to pronounce it a bed of justice, where justice would for ever sleep. With all the partiality of the House for Mr. Pitt, this bill was found to be so crude and imperfect, on its first appearance, that it underwent such a variety of subsequent amendments, as nearly to lose its original shape; and after all, such were its radical defects, that it required a declaratory act to render it intelligible. With respect to the amendments, Mr. Sheridan humorously remarked, that twenty-one new clauses were added to the bill, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, and he requested some gentleman to suggest three more, in order to complete the horn-book of the present ministry. On the motion of commitment, the numbers were 276 to 61; and the bill was carried in triumph to the Peers, where, after an opposition very feeble in numbers, it passed on the 9th of August. In a protest, however, it was severely branded, as a measure ineffectual in its provisions, unconstitutional in its partial abolition of the trial by jury, and unjust in its inquisitorial spirit.

The arrival of Sir Elijah Impey, chief judge of the supreme court of judicature at Bengal, who had been recalled by the King, in conformity to an address of that House, having taken place, Mr. Burke earnestly recommended it to the chancellor

of the exchequer, to enforce the resolutions of that House respecting him ; but Mr. Pitt unequivocally declined any concern in the affair. In consequence, Mr. Burke moved (July the 28th) that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the facts stated in the different reports relative to India. The motion having been negatived by the order of the day, Mr. Burke, two days afterwards, brought forward a series of resolutions, intended as a foundation for an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt immediately rose, and asked, how that House, as a House of Parliament, knew, as a fact, the transactions on which Mr. Burke grounded his motion ? If the motion passed, from what office were the papers expected to proceed ? To relieve the House from these embarrassments, he said, he should move the order of the day. Mr. Burke, indignant at this second interruption, now stood forward, and declaimed, with great warmth, against the insensibility of government to the foul enormities lately perpetrated, and still perpetrating, by our countrymen in the East. The cries of the native Indians, he said, were never out of his ears ; an impression of horror had seized on his mind, which deprived him of sleep, and, night and day, preyed upon his peace. The reality of the facts stated in the reports had been impeached. Why, then, would not the men who denied them stand forward and support their allegations ? “ Oh ! what,” said Mr. Burke, “ would I not give to find the scenes of horror described nothing more than a fiction ! To me it would be a discovery more precious and grateful than the discovery of a new world.” He declared that he wished it for the honour of humanity, from sympathy to millions of suffering and helpless individuals, from his anxious desire to retrieve the honour of the House, and of the country at large, from infamy and execration. He conjured

Mr. Pitt to reflect with seriousness on this business. The voice of India cried aloud for justice. He was at a loss, he said, how to account for the callous insensibility of the minister, at a time of life when all the generous feelings of our nature are most lively and susceptible. Proceeding in reflections very pointed and personal, the orator was loudly called to order; and was at length compelled to sit down amidst universal clamour and tumult.

The attention of the House was now transferred to a bill for the more effectual prevention of the practice of smuggling, which had of late years arisen to a most alarming height. The most extraordinary part of the plan was the reduction of the duties paid by the East India Company on the importation of tea, which was affirmed to be the grand medium of the smuggling traffic; and the consequent imposition of a new duty on windows, to the amount of the deficiency, estimated at 600,000*l.* per annum. This was styled by the minister a commutation tax; and its equity was defended on the idea, that, tea being an article of universal consumption, the weight of the tax would be compensated by a proportional abatement in the purchase of the commodity. Mr. Fox asked, what connexion there was between an impost upon tea and an impost upon windows, to entitle the latter to be denominated a commutation for the former? He affirmed it to be the essence of financial injustice and oppression to take off a tax upon luxury, and to substitute in its stead a tax upon that which was of indispensable necessity. The bill, however, passed by a great majority.

The remaining great operation of finance during this session was the providing for the arrears of the unfunded debt left at the conclusion of the war, amounting to more than 20,000,000*l.* This was disposed of partly in the four per cents., and partly in a newly created five per cent. stock, made irre-

deemable for thirty years, or until 25,000,000*l.* of the existing funds should be extinguished. It must not be omitted that the sum of 60,000*l.* was voted to his Majesty, to enable him to discharge the debt contracted on the civil list. This was the fourth grant for the same purpose since his accession. A warm altercation took place as to the precise period when this debt was incurred ; all, however, that the public could be fully certified of was, that with the civil list revenue of 800,000*l.*, afterwards increased to 900,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the revenues arising from the crown lands, more than 1,400,000*l.* had been voted within the space of about fifteen years, for the payment of the debts of the crown.

The last measure which came before Parliament during the present session was a bill introduced by Mr. Dundas, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland, in consequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Mr. Dundas declared the measure to be, in his opinion, worthy of the justice and generosity of Parliament. He said there was not one of the families comprehended in the scope of it, in which some person had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his ancestors, by sacrificing his blood in the cause of his country ; and that the Sovereign had not, for a long series of years past, a more loyal set of subjects than the highlanders and their chieftains. Of this the late Lord Chatham was deeply sensible ; and that illustrious statesman had publicly recognised the rectitude of the measure now proposed. He did not, however, mean, that the estates should be freed from the claims existing against them at the time of forfeiture. This might be regarded as a premium for rebellion. He therefore proposed the appropriation of such sums, amounting to about 80,000*l.*, to public purposes ; 50,000*l.* of which he would recommend to be employed in the completion of the grand canal

reaching from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde. This liberal measure was received in a manner that did honour to the feelings of the House. Mr. Fox, in particular, bestowed upon it the highest encomiums. Nevertheless, when the bill was sent to the Lords, it met with a most determined resistance from the lord-chancellor, who expatiated, with much satisfaction, on that maxim of ancient wisdom, which pronounced treason to be a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing less was adequate to its punishment, than the total eradication of the person, the name, and the family, out of the community. On dividing the House, this nobleman was left in a great minority, and, to the entire satisfaction of the public, the bill passed.

Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of August, the King returning his warmest thanks to the two Houses, for their zealous and diligent attention to the public service.

Ireland, at this period, was in a very disturbed state. On the 1st of July, 1783, the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps had assembled at Lisburne, in the county of Antrim, to consider of the measures proper to be adopted, to effect a reform in Parliament. A committee was then appointed to meet at Belfast; by whom letters were addressed to many persons of consequence in the sister kingdom, requesting their advice and opinion on this important subject. The meeting at Lisburne was followed by an assembly of delegates at Dungannon, for the province of Ulster; at which the Earl of Charlemont, generalissimo of the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, Mr. Conally, considered as the first commoner in point of property, and the Bishop of Derry, brother to the Earl of Bristol nominated in the year 1766 to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, were present. The provinces of Leinster and Munster followed the example of Ulster, and

a national convention was appointed to be held at Dublin on the 10th of November, 1783. This was the posture of affairs when the Parliament of Ireland, recently elected, met on the 14th of October. On the first day of the session the thanks of both Houses were voted to the different volunteer corps of Ireland, for their public services; and a resolution, proposed by Lord Mountmorres, "that, in the present state of the kingdom, it was expedient that there should be a session of Parliament held every year," received the sanction of both Houses. On the 10th of November the national convention assembled, and the Earl of Charlemont was elected president. On the motion of the Bishop of Derry, a committee was forthwith appointed to digest a plan of reform, who, in a short time, reported their opinion, "that every Protestant freeholder, or leaseholder, possessing a freehold or leasehold for a certain term of years of 40s. value, resident in any city or borough, should be entitled to vote in the election of member for the same: that decayed boroughs should be enabled to return representatives by an extension of franchise to the neighbouring parishes: that the suffrages of the electors should be taken by the sheriff or his deputies on the same day at the respective places of election: that pensioners of the crown, receiving their pensions during pleasure, should be incapacitated from sitting in Parliament: that every member of Parliament accepting a pension for life, or any place under the crown, should vacate his seat: that each member should subscribe an oath, that he had neither directly, nor indirectly, given any pecuniary or other consideration, with a view of obtaining the suffrage of any elector: finally, that the duration of Parliament should not exceed the term of three years." This report was received with great applause, and resolutions to the same purport unani-

mously passed. The next day Mr. Flood moved the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in Parliament. The motion was received with much displeasure by a great majority of the members, as being a proposal tendered to them at the point of the bayonet, and it was rejected by 157 against 77. An address to the King was then voted, expressive of the sense felt by the House of the blessings they enjoyed under his auspices, and assuring him, that they were determined to support inviolate the present constitution with their lives and fortunes. In this address, the Lords concurred; but a protest, signed by the Earl of Charlemont and four other peers, was entered against it in the journals of the House. Mr. Flood reported to the national convention, at their sitting of the 1st of December, the conduct of the House of Commons; when they merely passed a resolution, that they would carry on individually such investigations as might be necessary to complete the plan of parliamentary reform. Their humiliation was still more apparent in the address, voted on the following day, to the King, on the motion of Mr. Flood, in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers of Ireland, expressive of their duty and loyalty, claiming the merits of their past exertions, and imploring the King, that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representation of that kingdom remedied by the legislature, in some reasonable degree, might not be attributed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms. The convention then adjourned *sine die*. The Parliament of Ireland adjourned, for the Christmas recess, on the 22d of December, 1783. Previously to their re-assembling, Mr. Pitt had taken the helm

of government, and the Duke of Rutland had superseded the Earl of Nottingham in the viceroyalty of Ireland. On the 13th of March following, Mr. Flood renewed his motion for parliamentary reform, which was rejected by 159 against 85 voices. This decision gave secret satisfaction to those friends of reform who dreaded the emancipation of the Catholics still more than the present system. The Ulster volunteers presented, on a subsequent occasion, an address to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, expressing their satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices which, by limiting the right of suffrage, and circumscribing the number of their citizens, had, in a great degree, created and fostered aristocratic tyranny, the source of every grievance, and against which the public voice now unanimously exclaimed. The Earl of Charlemont, in answer, professed himself free from every illiberal prejudice against the Catholics, but entreated the volunteers to desist from a pursuit that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose, and besought them not to indulge any opinion that must and would create disunion. This answer, being circulated throughout the kingdom, heightened that disunion, which it professed to deprecate; and the object itself seemed relinquished in despair.

The people of Ireland now loudly called for protecting duties, to foster the infant manufactures of that country, and to compel the inhabitants to consume the produce of native ingenuity and industry. On the 31st of March, Mr. Gardiner, member for the county of Dublin, in an able speech, depicted the distresses of the kingdom; called upon the House to copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries, by protecting their manufactures at home; and moved for a high duty on woollens imported into the kingdom. This motion was negatived by a large majority; the whole system of

protecting duties being ridiculed as visionary and pernicious. The disappointment of the people now kindled into rage, and the short-lived popularity of the new viceroy was, in the course of a month, entirely at an end. So critical was the state of the Irish metropolis at this period, that it was thought necessary to countermand the embarkation of several regiments destined to the East Indies, and to furnish the garrison of Dublin, consisting of about 4000 regular troops, with thirty rounds of powder and ball per man. Before the end of the session an address was unanimously voted by the House of Commons to the Sovereign, representing the distressed state of the kingdom, and praying for the establishment of a more advantageous system of commerce between Ireland and Great Britain; and on the 14th of May the Parliament was prorogued. The last measure of the Parliament seemed, in some degree, to calm the violence of the people. On the 7th of June an extraordinary meeting of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin was convened by the sheriffs; in which they came to resolutions declaratory of the right of the people of Ireland to a frequent election, and an equal representation. They called upon the nation to unite with them in the measures necessary to its introduction, and in presenting petitions to the King for a dissolution of the existing Parliament. They asserted that the force of the state consisted in the union of the inhabitants—that an equal participation in all the rights of a man and a citizen was proper, henceforth, to engage all the members of the state to co-operate efficaciously for the greatest general good. Finally, that it would be of the happiest consequence to the prosperity of the state, and the maintaining of civil liberty, to extend to their brethren, the Roman Catholics, the right of suffrage, as fully as was compatible with the maintenance of the Protestant government. In an address

to the people of Ireland, they proposed the election of five delegates from each county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin, October the 25th, next ensuing, in national congress. On the 9th of August, resolutions, nearly similar, were agreed to at the general meeting of the freeholders of the county of Dublin; and a petition was also voted by them to the King, for a dissolution of the Parliament. The lord-lieutenant, on being requested to transmit these petitions to England, declared it to be his duty to do so; but that he should not fail to accompany them with his entire disapprobation, as they included unjust and indecent reflections upon the laws and Parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal dissensions among the people. Conscious of its strength, the government of Ireland did not long content itself with a cold expression of disapprobation. The 20th of September having been fixed upon as the day for electing five delegates to represent the city of Dublin in national congress, a short time previously to the intended meeting, Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general, wrote a letter to the sheriffs, expressing his astonishment at having read a public summons signed by them for this purpose, and threatening them with a prosecution if they should proceed. The sheriffs, alarmed at this menace, refused to take any part in the business. Five delegates were, however, chosen, and a resolution passed, declaring the conduct of the attorney-general to be a violation of Magna Charta. The attorney-general, holding this resolution in contempt, filed informations against the high sheriffs of various counties for convening and presiding at similar meetings. The national congress, however, met on the 25th of October. After a session of three days only, finding their numbers on the return very incomplete, they adjourned to the 20th of January, 1785, having previously passed several resolutions, importing,

that the appointment of that assembly, and the steps that had been taken, were in entire conformity with the constitution of Ireland. On the same day commenced the second session of the Parliament of Ireland; and in a short time Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, laid before the House a series of commercial regulations, digested, during the recess, into a regular system. There were two plans, on which a permanent arrangement might be formed on the basis of equality: 1. A system of mutual prohibition; and, 2. A system of mutual admission. The propositions, eleven in number, moved by Mr. Orde, were framed in conformity to the latter, and, unquestionably, the wiser of these opposite systems. Much violent discussion ensued; but, ultimately, the propositions were joyfully received, and ratified by a decisive majority of the House.

CHAPTER XV.

Meeting of Parliament—Westminster scrutiny—Mr. Pitt's plan of parliamentary reform—Public accounts—Taxes—Commercial intercourse with Ireland—The plan carried in England, but rejected by the Irish House of Commons—Parliament re-assembled—Plan for fortifying the dockyards—Sinking fund—Civil list—Shop tax—Hawkers—Duty on wine transferred to the Excise—India affairs—Charges against Mr. Hastings—Prorogation of parliament—Margaret Nicholson's attempt to assassinate the King—Board of Trade—Treaty of commerce with France—Convention with Spain—Meeting of parliament—Discussion on the French commercial treaty—Consolidation of the customs—Post-horse duty—Mr. Fox's attempt to repeal the Shop tax—Corporation and Test acts—Prince of Wales's affairs—Grant for the payment of his debts—Hastings's impeachment—Close of the session—Affairs of Holland—Dispute with France amicably terminated—Meeting of parliament—Treaties of alliance between England, Prussia, and Holland—Debate on Naval promotions—Dispute between the East India Company and Board of Control—Trial of Warren Hastings—Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey—Election petitions—American loyalists—Transportation of slaves—Prorogation of parliament—Death of the young Pretender—Centenary of the Revolution—Mental malady of the King, and consequent proceedings—Various discussions of the Regency question—The King's recovery—Proceedings in Ireland—The Shop tax at length repealed—Motion for the repeal of the Test act again rejected—Slave trade—India

*affairs—Finance—Progress of Hastings's trial—
The duty on Tobacco transferred to the Excise
—Parliament prorogued.*

DURING the interval between the prorogation of Parliament and its re-assembling, the nation enjoyed a period of profound tranquillity, the people of England seeming to repose, with unbounded confidence, in the wisdom and integrity of the new administration. On the 25th of January, 1785, the second session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the King recommended the two Houses to apply their utmost attention to the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between this country and Ireland, as were not yet finally arranged. The address of thanks being carried unanimously, the first business which engaged the attention of the House of Commons was the state of the Westminster scrutiny, as it had now continued for eight months, at a vast expense, and only two parishes out of seven had been gone through. The imbecility of the court of scrutiny, as it was pompously called, was exposed in the most sarcastic terms, the high bailiff having no power to summon witnesses, to impose an oath, or to commit for contumacy. Mr. Pitt, however, to the astonishment of the public, vindicated the proceedings, on which Mr. Fox, with indignant warmth, remarked, that he well remembered the day when he congratulated the House on the acquisition of Mr. Pitt's splendid abilities: it had been his pride to fight, in conjunction with him, the battles of the constitution: he had been ever ready to recognise in the right honourable gentleman a formidable rival, who would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory: but he had never expected that this rival would become his persecutor. He considered the present measure

with regard to Westminster to be instituted instead of an expulsion. The case of the Middlesex election, so much reprobated, had, at least, the merit of being more manly; for the procedure now adopted accomplished the same end of expulsion, without daring to exhibit any charge against the person expelled. On the 9th of February, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved that the high bailiff do attend at the bar of the House, which was negatived by 174 to 135 voices. Another motion, of a similar tendency, was soon after rejected by a majority of only nine; and on the 3d of March it was repeated a third time, by Alderman Sawbridge, when it was carried in the affirmative, by 162 against 124, leaving the minister in a disgraceful minority; and on the next day Lord Hood and Mr. Fox were duly returned.

Mr. Pitt next drew the public attention to a subject of considerable interest. On the 18th of April he brought forward a plan for a reform in the representation, in some degree varying from his preceding attempts, and on which he had evidently bestowed considerable attention. He rose, he said, with hopes infinitely more sanguine than he had ever ventured to entertain at any former period. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this interesting subject, or more prepared for its discussion. He declared his present plan of reform to be perfectly coincident with the spirit of those changes which had taken place in the exercise of the elective franchise from the earliest ages, and not in the least allied to the spirit of innovation. So far back as the reign of Edward the First, before which the component orders of the representative body could not be distinctly traced, the franchise of election had been constantly fluctuating. As one borough decayed and another flourished, the first was abolished and the second invested with the right. Even the

representation of the counties had not been uniform. King James the First, in his first proclamation for calling a parliament, directed that the sheriffs should not call upon such boroughs as were decayed and ruined to send members to Parliament. For this discretion, as vested in the crown, he was certainly no advocate; but he wished to establish a permanent rule, to operate like the discretion out of which the constitution had sprung. It was his design that the actual number of the House of Commons should be preserved inviolate; and his immediate object was to select a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the right of representation attached to thirty-six of which should be transferred to the counties, in such proportions as the wisdom of Parliament might prescribe; and, that all unnecessary harshness might be avoided, he recommended the appropriation of a fund of 1,000,000*l.* to be applied to the purchasing the franchise of such boroughs, on their voluntary application to Parliament. When this was effected, he proposed to extend the bill to the purchasing the franchise of other boroughs, besides the original thirty-six; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepresented, upon their petitioning Parliament to be indulged with this privilege. It was also his wish to admit copyholders to an equality with freeholders, and to extend the franchise in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. This plan would give 100 members to the popular interest in the kingdom, and extend the right of election to 100,000 persons, who, by the existing provisions of the law, were excluded from it. Mr. Fox remarked that government was not a property, but a trust; and he strongly objected to the idea of purchasing franchises of boroughs which, from their insignificance, were no longer entitled to send

members to Parliament. He, however, bestowed upon the plan of the minister a just and liberal tribute of praise. On the other hand, it was ridiculed by Mr. Powys, as the mere knight-errantry of a political Quixote; as an example, a precedent, an incitement, to the wildest and most paradoxical nostrums that speculative theorists could devise. At length, after a long debate, Mr. Pitt's motion was rejected by 248 against 174.

In consequence of the very able reports presented from time to time by the commissioners of accounts, Mr. Pitt brought in three several bills, for the better auditing and examining the public accounts, and for the regulation and reform of the public offices, which passed with great applause; and, on the 9th of May, he proposed that the remaining part of the floating arrear of debt, consisting of navy bills and ordnance debentures, should be funded on five per cent. stock, and the interest, amounting to above 400,000*l.* per annum, provided by fresh taxes, one of which, a tax on retail shops, calculated at 120,000*l.* per annum, proved particularly obnoxious. As this tax was proportioned to the rent of the house, it was denominated neither more nor less than a partial house tax; and the whole body of retail traders were agreed that it was utterly impracticable to indemnify themselves by raising the price of the different commodities upon the consumer. Conscious of the unpopularity of the measure, Mr. Pitt, by way of recompense to the shopkeeper, proposed, by a deed of unprecedented oppression, to revoke and take away the license from all hawkers and pedlars, whom he styled a pest to the community, and a nursery and medium for the preservation of illicit trade. The cause of this humble, useful, and unprotected description of men, was powerfully supported by Mr. Fox, and other gentlemen: indeed, such was the indefensibility of the proposed

regulation, that Mr. Dempster, in the course of the debate, truly affirmed the principle of the bill to be no less iniquitous than that of the expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain, or of the Huguenots from France. The result was, that the prohibition was changed to a heavy duty, and a number of severe restrictions were also enacted.

The subject which chiefly engaged the attention of Parliament during the present session was the projected plan of commercial intercourse with the sister kingdom. This new system, which received the final assent of the Parliament of Ireland on the 16th of February, was brought before the British House of Commons on the 22d by Mr. Pitt, who, in the opening of this important business, submitted some excellent observations on the species of policy which had been long exercised by the English government in regard to Ireland, the object of which was to debar her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interest and opulence of this country. Some relaxation of this system had taken place, indeed, at an early period of the present century; and more had been done in the reign of George the Second; but it was not till within a very few years that the system had been completely revised. Still, however, the future intercourse between the two kingdoms remained for legislative wisdom to arrange; and the propositions moved by Mr. Orde in the Irish Parliament, and ratified by that assembly, held out, he said, a system liberal, beneficial, and permanent. If the question should be asked, whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wise to equalise the duties, and to enable a country free from those taxes to meet us in their own market and in ours? he would answer, that Ireland, with an independent legislature, would no longer submit to be treated with

as an inferior. A great and generous effort was to be made by this country, and we were to choose between inevitable alternatives. Our manufactures, however, were so decidedly superior to theirs, that the immunities proposed would be, in fact, and for many years to come, productive of little alteration. It would require time for the acquisition of both capital and skill; and, as these increased, the difference between the price of labour there and in this country would be incessantly diminishing. After all, there might, he admitted, be some branches of manufacture in which Ireland might rival, and perhaps excel, England; but this ought not to give us pain. We must calculate from general and not from partial views; but, above all, we should learn not to regard Ireland with an eye of jealousy, for it required little philosophy to reconcile us to a competition, which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. The prosperity of the sister kingdom would be a fresh and inexhaustible source of opulence to us. The vastness of the plan, and of the objects it embraced, seemed to keep the public mind in a kind of suspense; and, for nearly a month after its first introduction, no indications of serious or determined opposition were discernible. Mr. Fox, indeed, when the subject was first started, observed, that the greater part of Mr. Pitt's speech was little else than a reply to that of Mr. Orde in the Irish House of Commons. In Ireland, the propositions had been stated as in the highest degree advantageous to that country; as rendering it the emporium of Europe, and the source and supply of the British markets. Here the great recommendation of the system was, that the benefits accruing to Ireland were, if not wholly visionary, at best trivial and remote. We are told, said Mr. Fox, that Ireland cannot rival England; that she is poor and feeble, and would very long, in all probability,

remain so. He must, however, do Mr. Orde the justice to acknowledge that he had defended the propositions, and argued upon them, infinitely better than the British minister. As to the report of the privy-council, to whom the consideration of this business had been previously referred, Mr. Fox remarked that they had entirely overlooked a question which appeared to him of primary importance; he meant the propriety and policy of permitting the produce of Africa and America to be brought into Great Britain through Ireland. By this means we threw down the whole fabric of our navigation laws. Even with regard to the great article of tea, the period was not very distant when the charter of the East India Company would expire, and, according to the tenor of the proposed resolutions, there certainly remained no power in this country to renew it with the same, or, indeed, any exclusive privileges. Mr. Fox censured the precipitancy with which this business was urged, and asserted that not only the manufactures, but the revenues and political existence of Britain, were involved in the discussion. About the middle of March, the spirit of commercial jealousy appeared to be thoroughly awakened. Upwards of sixty petitions from every quarter of the kingdom were presented against the measure, and there was scarcely a single species of manufacture or merchandise, upon the subject of which the persons peculiarly interested had not conceived considerable alarm. From the 16th of March to the 12th of May, the House of Commons were almost incessantly employed in the hearing of counsel, and the examination of witnesses; and Mr. Pitt was at length compelled to acknowledge the necessity of making some material amendments in his original plan. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, he brought forward a series of propositions, so altered as to exhibit what might well be considered

a new system. On this occasion Mr. Fox observed, in the language of triumph, that if the original resolutions had passed, we should have lost, for ever, the monopoly of the East India trade ; we must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spiritous liquors ; we should have sacrificed the whole of our navigation laws. He argued that the propositions, as they were even now modified, were far too complicated and extensive to be voted by a majority of that House on any other ground than that of confidence in the minister ; that implicit confidence in him was as dangerous as it was absurd ; and that he who acquiesced in the measure from any other inducement than that of sincere conviction surrendered every claim to honest estimation, and was unworthy the situation of a senator and the name of an Englishman. The House at length divided on the motion of adjournment, ayes 155, noes 281 ; and at eight o'clock in the morning the first resolution passed the House. After a warm contest, the whole were carried ; and on the 30th of May they were sent up to the Lords, where they again underwent a long and laborious investigation, in the course of which various amendments were made. The resolutions were sent back to the Commons on the 19th of July ; after much debate the amendments were agreed to ; and on the 28th an address was presented to the King, acquainting him with the steps which had been taken in this affair. The two Houses now adjourned to a distant day ; and on the 30th of September the Parliament was prorogued by proclamation.

The propositions having been transmitted to Ireland, Mr. Orde moved, on the 12th of August, for leave to bring in a bill for establishing the system of commercial intercourse therein contained. He defended the variations which now appeared, by alleging the natural progress of a measure of this

nature. On a comparison of the two sets of propositions, however, the magnitude and importance of the alterations strikingly appeared; and the fourth resolution in particular, by which England assumed a power of legislative regulation and commercial control with respect to Ireland, was peremptorily rejected. After much violent debate, the secretary, to preclude a motion of censure framed by Mr. Flood, moved an adjournment, which was carried without a division: public illuminations in the populous towns of Ireland testified the general joy excited by the sudden termination of a business which was originally intended to communicate, both to England and Ireland, solid and lasting advantages, but, from the issue, appears to have been destined, by a singular fate, to rouse commercial jealousies, to awaken national prejudices, to provoke where it was intended to conciliate, to inflame resentment where it was expected to challenge gratitude, and greatly to disturb the public tranquillity of both kingdoms.

The British Parliament assembled on the 24th of January, 1786. The King declared to the House of Commons his earnest wish to enforce economy in every department; recommended to them the maintenance of our naval strength on the most respectable footing; and, above all, the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. Nothing important passed until the 10th of February, when the estimate of the ordnance was brought up in the committee of supply. Mr. Pitt then called the attention of the House to the plan laid before them in the course of the last session, under the sanction of the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance, for fortifying the dock-yards of the kingdom; the propriety of which it was then agreed to refer to a board of land and sea officers, whose report Mr. Pitt stated to be in the highest degree

favourable to the plan of fortification submitted to their decision ; but the report itself he declined laying before the House, as a matter of too serious and delicate a nature for public inspection. The discontent manifested when the question was last year under discussion now rose into indignation. If the report, or the essentials it contained, were not to be in some mode subject to the inspection of the House, they were, it was affirmed, in exactly the same situation in which they had stood before the board was appointed. They must decide, not upon their own judgments, but in deference to the authority of the minister. The expense attending this novel system would be enormous, and it was at least their duty, before they adopted it, to be fully convinced of its necessity. General Burgoyne, who was one of the board, controverted the assertion of Mr. Pitt respecting the entire approbation expressed by them of the system in question. It was well known, he said, that cases hypothetically put admitted only of a direct answer given under the admission of the hypothesis. It remained to be ascertained whether the case was sufficiently within the limits of probability to deserve attention. Several of those on which the board were called upon to decide were as extravagant as if it were asked, “ Suppose, by some convulsion of nature, the Straits of Dover should vanish out of existence, and the coasts of England and France were to unite, would it not be expedient to fortify the isthmus between the two countries ? ” The subject, he said, whether considered as a question of science, of revenue, or of constitution, was of the utmost importance. Mr. Pitt postponed the further discussion till the 27th of February, when he moved the following resolution : “ That it appears to this House, that to provide effectually for securing the dock-yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth, by a permanent system of

fortification, is an essential object for the safety of the state," &c. On this occasion a very warm debate arose, in which Mr. Sheridan particularly distinguished himself. When we talked of a constitutional jealousy of the military power of the crown, what, he asked, was the real object to which we pointed our suspicion? What, but that it was in the nature of Kings to love power, and in the constitution of armies to obey Kings. This, doubtless, he said, was plain speaking upon a delicate subject, but the nature of the question demanded it. In this point of view, would no stress be laid on the great and important distinction to be drawn between troops elected and separated from their fellow-citizens in garrisons and forts, and men living scattered and entangled in all the common duties and connexions of their countrymen? He proceeded to argue, that these strong military holds would become hostages in the hands of the crown, which must ensure unconditional submission to any despotism, and that the system now recommended would not end with Portsmouth and Plymouth. It was not possible, he said, for the House to remain at a loss to discover various places, besides Chatham and Sheerness, where extensive lines had actually been begun, under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond, which must necessarily be provided for according to the new system; and he wished to see the estimate for the stationary defence of such places, in addition to the 20,000 men demanded for Portsmouth and Plymouth. The division was rendered memorable by an exact equality of numbers, both the ayes and the noes amounting to 169. The speaker, as usual in such cases, being called upon for his casting vote, added his negative to those who had voted for the rejection of the project. Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding this defeat, after an interval of a few weeks, brought forward the question again, in a new form, by

moving, “that an estimate of the expense of such part of the plan of fortification recommended in the late report, as might appear most necessary to be carried into immediate execution, be referred to a committee of supply”—the probable expense of which was estimated at 400,000*l*. This was received with extreme disapprobation; and Mr. Pitt at length withdrew the motion.

In the month of March Mr. Pitt moved for the appointment of a select committee, by ballot, to report to the House the state of the public revenue and expenditure. The result of their inquiry was eminently satisfactory. The amount of the revenue for the current year was estimated at 15,397,000*l*.—the permanent expenditure, including the civil list and the interests payable on the different funds, amounted to 10,554,000*l*.—the peace establishment, allowing 18,000 men for the navy, and the usual complement of seventy regiments for the army, exclusive of life-guards and cavalry, was estimated at 3,924,000*l*.; in all, 14,000,000*l*.; in consequence there remained a surplus of more than 900,000*l*. Mr. Pitt observed, that though this was stated to be the annual expenditure, a considerable interval must elapse before this reduction could take place; this term he fixed at four years. The exceedings of the army, navy, and ordnance, together with the sums necessary for the indemnification of the American loyalists, he calculated would not, during this period, fall short of 3,000,000*l*. The war from which we were just delivered had been most expensive and ruinous; these unavoidable exceedings were amongst the bitter fruits of it; but if, during the first years of peace, extraordinary expense were incurred, they afforded also extraordinary savings. There were sums appropriated during the war to different services, which had not been expended; 450,000*l*. had already been paid into the exchequer upon this

account. There were, moreover, immense sums in the hands of former paymasters, which, it was expected, would soon be brought to account; these he conjecturally stated at the sum of 1,000,000*l.* There was a balance of 600,000*l.* due to the government from the East India Company. When to these were added the improvements that might yet be made by judicious regulations in the different branches of the revenue, he was not, he hoped, too sanguine in affirming that we possessed resources equal to all our ordinary and extraordinary demands. The proposition which he now submitted to the House was the appropriation of the annual sum of 1,000,000*l.* to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the public debt. The surplus of the revenue amounting to 900,000*l.* only, Mr. Pitt moved for an additional duty on spirits, on certain kinds of timber imported, and on perfumery, which would together be more than sufficient to make up the deficiency. This annual million Mr. Pitt proposed to vest in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock, so that no sum should ever be within the grasp of any future minister large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged were, conformably to this plan, to be added to and incorporated with the original fund, so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity; being, in this respect, framed upon the model of the sinking fund formerly projected by Sir Robert Walpole. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in, within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which Mr. Pitt calculated that the fund would produce an income of 4,000,000*l.* per annum. When a progress so considerable was made in the reduction of the debt, Parliament might, with propriety, pause,

and adopt such new measures for the relief of the nation, and the extinction of the most oppressive and burdensome taxes, as to the legislative wisdom should seem meet. The commissioners to be nominated under the act were, the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the House of Commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England, and the accountant-general of the high court of chancery. Such were the persons, Mr. Pitt said, whom he should propose to be appointed to this trust. This plan had long been the wish and the hope of all good men, and he felt inexpressible pleasure in being able to flatter himself that his name might be inscribed on that firm column, which was now about to be raised to national faith and national prosperity. In the progress of the bill Mr. Fox suggested, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and *douceur* annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amendment, the only one of consequence offered, was well received by Mr. Pitt, who declared it to be an auspicious omen of the ultimate success of the plan, that its propriety and necessity had been so obvious as to overcome the spirit and prejudice of party, and create an unanimity of sentiment in persons who, more he was sure from accident than inclination, were so frequently of different opinions. The policy of the principle of making the income of the state so far exceed its expenditure as to leave a surplus for the discharge of the national debt being universally acknowledged, the bill finally passed with general approbation.

Before the sinking-fund bill passed into a law, a message from the King to the House of Commons

was delivered by the minister, stating that it gave him great concern to inform them that it had not been found possible to confine the expenses of the civil list within the annual sum of 850,000*l.* now applicable to that purpose. A further debt had been necessarily incurred, and the King relied on the zeal and affection of his Parliament to make provision for its discharge. When the last demand of this sort was made in July, 1784, for the sum of 60,000*l.* Mr. Pitt rested his defence on the ground that the debt was contracted before he came last into office ; but the motion founded on this message he supported on the plea, that, under Mr. Burke's reform bill, an annual reduction of 50,000*l.* from the civil list having been set apart for the liquidation by instalments of the sum of 300,000*l.* then issued in exchequer bills for the supply of former deficiencies, of which 180,000*l.* yet remained unpaid ; and a fresh debt of 30,000*l.* having accrued ; either Parliament had, at the period referred to, directed that, when the proposed liquidation should be effected, the civil list should be allowed 50,000*l.* per annum *more than was necessary*, or it was then put upon a footing of 50,000*l.* per annum *less than was necessary*. Experience, he said, had proved the latter to be the case ; and therefore it was reasonable to expect that the sum of 210,000*l.* now wanting to clear off the old and new encumbrances, would be granted without hesitation. The money was ultimately voted, but not without considerable opposition, in the course of which the necessity of economy was strongly enforced. This application was the more remarkable, as, at the opening of the session of December, 1782, and when Mr. Pitt was chancellor of the exchequer, the King, in his speech from the throne, said, " I have carried into strict execution the several reductions in my civil-list expenses, directed by an act of last session ; I have

introduced a further reform in other departments, and suppressed several sinecure places in them. I have, by this means, so regulated my establishments, that my expenses shall not in future exceed my income."

Various petitions were presented in the course of the session for the repeal of the tax upon retail shops; and a motion was made by Sir Watkin Lewes for that purpose without effect, though the impost was somewhat mitigated by a reduction of the rates. An attempt was also made, by Mr. Pulteney, to explain and amend the act of the last session, relative to hawkers and pedlars; particularly to repeal an oppressive clause, by which justices of the peace were empowered to imprison any person of that profession at their discretion. This was rejected, however, by a considerable majority. A bill for transferring part of the duties on foreign wines from the customs to the excise (the duty having fallen off, Mr. Pitt stated, by the sum of 280,000*l.*, from what it had been in the middle of the century) was passed with general approbation, the terrible alarm excited by Sir Robert Walpole's memorable attempt to extend the laws of excise, fifty years ago, having been apparently forgotten.

The affairs of India next occupied the chief attention of Parliament. A bill was brought in by Mr. Dundas, which, with some opposition, passed into a law, to explain and amend the act of 1784. This bill bestowed upon the governor-general of India the high prerogative of deciding in opposition to the sense of the majority of the council. The offices of commander-in-chief and governor-general were united in the same person; and Earl Cornwallis, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the American war, and whose character stood high in the public estimation, was nominated to fill this important commission. Soon after this Mr. Pitt, stating certain exigencies arising from the peculiar

situation of the East India Company, moved that they be empowered to raise the sum of 2,000,000*l.* for the necessary increase of their capital. This also passed with little difficulty.

In the month of June, 1785, Mr. Hastings, late governor of Bengal, arrived in England, when Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move, early in the ensuing session, for an investigation into his conduct. In undertaking the arduous task of public accuser against this supposed great Indian delinquent, the various difficulties to be encountered presented such a train of formidable obstacles, as only the perseverance and inflexibility of Mr. Burke could overcome. That powerful Indian interest which had defeated Mr. Fox, and effected the ruin of his administration, was to be exerted in vigorous hostility to the present measure; the opinions of administration were obviously in favour of the ex-governor; and the nation at large had long listened with cold indifference to the complaints of Indian delinquency, and seemed to consider the present prosecution rather as the unrelenting efforts of party spirit, directed solely to the destruction of an individual, than an attempt to vindicate the justice and equity of Britain, by the exemplary punishment of a man whose crimes, it was asserted, had deeply stained the national honour, and disgraced humanity. It may likewise be observed, that Mr. Burke could derive no encouragement to proceed from a review of former undertakings of a similar kind. The parliamentary prosecution of Lord Clive by General Burgoyne was early defeated. The verdict of the Court of King's Bench against the persons concerned in the imprisonment and death of Lord Pigot could not be expected to impress the public mind with any idea of the enormity of Indian crimes. The bill of pains and penalties against Sir Thomas Rumbold was said to be inadequate to its object,

and was abruptly abandoned by its author. Mr. Burke, however, was far from sinking under the pressure of circumstances so inauspicious ; and on the 17th of February, 1786, he opened the business by desiring that the resolutions of the 28th of May, 1782, moved by Mr. Dundas, as chairman of the select committee, declaratory of the culpability of Mr. Hastings, and the consequent necessity of his recall, might be read. He expressed his deep regret that the solemn and important business of that day had not been brought forward in the plenitude of weight and efficiency by the original mover of these resolutions, and remarked on the various modes of proceeding which might be adopted. The first was a direction to the attorney-general to prosecute ; but independently of the apparent disinclination of Mr. Arden, the attorney-general, to exert his powers in this cause, he did not conceive that a trial by jury was well calculated for the purpose of obtaining justice against so elevated an offender. The second mode of prosecution was that by bill of pains and penalties. To this he had insuperable objections, as radically unjust, and as tarnishing, in no slight degree, the character of that House, the members of which would thus preposterously appear in the two-fold capacity of accusers and judges. The only alternative which remained was the ancient constitutional mode of proceeding by impeachment : as a necessary preparative to which, he concluded with moving for the papers necessary to substantiate the charge which he had in immediate contemplation to bring forward against the late governor-general, Hastings. Mr. Dundas affirmed, that though he had thought it expedient in the year 1782 to recall Mr. Hastings from India, he now rejoiced that the resolutions moved by him had not taken effect. Since that period Mr. Hastings had rendered most essential services to the company, and he should

have extremely regretted to have been the means of depriving the company of a servant so distinguished by his zeal and capacity. Some difficulties were suggested by Mr. Pitt, respecting the production of the papers called for; but, ultimately, they were granted, with only a few exceptions; and on the 4th of April, Mr. Burke solemnly charged Warren Hastings, Esq., late governor-general of Bengal, with high crimes and misdemeanors in the execution of his office, exhibiting, at the same time, nine distinct articles of accusation, which in a few weeks were increased to the number of twenty-two. On the 1st of May Mr. Hastings, at his own desire, and by the indulgence of the House, was heard in his own defence; the minutes of which were ordered to lie on the table, and the examination of evidence was then proceeded in. The first article of the impeachment, respecting the Rohilla war, was brought before the House on the 1st of June; and, after a very long debate, the question was decided in favour of Mr. Hastings, by 119 against 67. On the 13th of June, the second charge, relative to the Rajah of Benares, being brought forward, it was resolved by the House, on a division of 119 to 79 voices, that this charge contained matter of impeachment against the late governor-general of Bengal. On the 11th of July an end was put to these proceedings for the present, by a prorogation of the Parliament, which was dismissed with assurances of the particular satisfaction with which the King had observed their diligent attention to the public business, and the measures they had adopted for improving the resources of the country.

On the 2d of August a singular incident occurred, which engrossed for a short time the attention of the public. As the King was alighting from his post-chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's

Palace, a woman, decently dressed, presented a paper to his Majesty ; and while he was in the act of receiving it, she struck with a concealed knife at his breast. The King fortunately avoided the blow by drawing back ; and as she was preparing to make a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand. On examination before the privy-council, it immediately appeared that the woman was insane. Being asked where she had lately resided, she answered frantically, that she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out. On being further questioned as to what matter, she said that the crown was her's ; and that, if she had not her right, England would be deluged in blood for a thousand generations. When interrogated as to the nature of her right, she refused to answer, saying, that her rights were a mystery. It appeared that this poor maniac, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, had presented a petition ten days before, full of wild and incoherent nonsense, which had probably never been read, or the person of the petitioner would have been secured. The idea of prosecution was, of course, abandoned, and she was consigned to an apartment provided for her in Bethlehem Hospital. The lord-mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council of the city of London, went some days after in procession to St. James's, to present an address to his Majesty on his happy escape ; an example which was followed by nearly all the corporate bodies throughout the kingdom.

In September his Majesty appointed a new committee of council, for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Of this board Mr. Charles Jenkinson, created Lord Hawkesbury, and constituted chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was declared president. Under the auspices of this board, a treaty of commerce was

signed between England and France on the 26th of September, on the basis of equality and reciprocity. The general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low *ad valorem* duty. The negotiator of this treaty was Mr. Eden, who was afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Auckland, and who, under the coalition administration, had filled the lucrative office of vice-treasurer of Ireland. This was the first memorable defection from that unfortunate alliance.

About the same time a convention was signed with Spain, which finally terminated the long subsisting disputes respecting the British settlements on the Mosquito shore and the coast of Honduras. By the present treaty the Mosquito settlements were formally and explicitly relinquished, as they had already virtually been by the sixth article of the general treaty of 1783. In return, the boundaries of the British settlement on the coast and bay of Honduras were somewhat extended. In a political view this convention answered a valuable purpose, as it removed a probable source of national disagreement; but the Mosquito settlers, who amounted to many hundred families in number, were commanded to evacuate the country in eighteen months, nothing further being stipulated in their favour than that his Catholic Majesty "shall order his governors to grant to the said English, so dispersed, all possible facilities for their removal to the settlements agreed upon by the present convention."

Parliament re-assembled on the 23d of January, 1787, but no subject of material import came under discussion till the 12th of February, when the House resolved itself into a committee on the commercial treaty with France. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt entered into an eloquent vindication of the measure. He declared, in energetic terms, his abhorrence of

the maxim, that any nation was destined to be the natural and unalterable enemy of another. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of infernal malignity in our original frame. France, in most of our wars, had certainly been the aggressor ; but her assurances and frankness in the present negotiation were such as to entitle her to a return of confidence. It was, indeed, ridiculous to imagine that the French would consent to yield advantages without the idea of compensation. The treaty would, doubtless, be a benefit to them ; but he did not hesitate to say, it would be a much greater benefit to us. She gained for her wines and other productions a great and opulent market. We did the same for our manufactures to a far greater degree. She procured a market of 8,000,000 of people, we a market of 24,000,000. Both nations were disposed and prepared for such a connexion. France, by the peculiar dispensation of Providence, was gifted, perhaps more than any other country upon earth, with what made life desirable in point of soil, climate, and natural productions, in the most fertile vineyards and the richest harvests. Britain, on the other hand, possessing these advantages in an inferior degree, had, from the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, risen to a state of commercial grandeur, and acquired the ability of supplying France with the requisite conveniences of life, in exchange for her natural luxuries. Though some plausible objections were suggested by the leaders of opposition against this measure, the only topic on which they insisted with any advantage, and indeed the only real difficulty respecting the execution of this treaty, arose from its inconsistency with the famous Methuen treaty, concluded with Portugal early in the present century, and in conformity to which the duties on Portugal wines were to bear in future the proportion

of only two-thirds of those imported from France and other countries. But this point being conceded by France in the progress of the business, the measure received, as it well deserved, the necessary concurrence and sanction of Parliament.

Another beneficial measure, though of inferior importance, was brought forward by Mr. Pitt for the consolidation of the customs, by the total abolition of all the existing confused and complex duties, and substituting in their stead a single duty on each article, amounting, as nearly as possible, to the aggregate of the various subsidies previously paid; taking universally, instead of a fraction, the nearest integral number above it. By this method, he observed, there would be an increase in the revenue, to the amount of 20,000*l.* per annum, while the difference would be amply compensated to the merchant, by the ease and convenience with which he would be enabled to transact his business at the custom-house. Mr. Pitt, at the same time, proposed to lower the duties on foreign spirits, with a view of annihilating the smuggling trade, which, he said, amounted to 4,000,000 of gallons yearly, whilst that which was legally imported, and paid duty, did not exceed 600,000 or 700,000. The whole of the plan obtained the sanction of a large majority of both Houses.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after stating the various frauds committed in the collection of the duty upon post-horses, proposed the farming of that duty, which was resisted, as contrary to the principles of the constitution, and as being the mode adopted by the odious and despotic government of France, where the farmers-general acquired great fortunes, by the most shameful oppression exercised over the people. The bill, however, passed by a considerable majority. Mr. Fox, some time afterwards, moved for the repeal of the tax im-

posed upon retail shops in the year 1785, which had excited great complaints, and a vigorous opposition throughout the nation. The whole sum assessed for this tax amounted to 59,000*l.* of which the cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent parishes, paid 43,000*l.* whereas in some parts of the kingdom not above 100*l.* was assessed for a whole county, and not above 50*l.* for a few. Mr. Pitt, however, declared that his mind was not yet satisfied as to the pernicious operation of the tax, and the motion was lost by a majority of 183 against 147.

On the 28th of March Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, a dissenter, held in great esteem by all parties, made a motion in the House of Commons for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. His general arguments, and those of Mr. Fox, who ably supported the motion, were, that the test act was not originally intended to operate against the Protestant dissenters, but to prevent the intrigues and influence of the Popish party; that the dissenters had deserved well of the nation, and particularly of his Majesty's family, of whom, from the Revolution, they had been the most zealous supporters; that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himself in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exercise of that right, to incur any punishment, or be branded with any mark of infamy; and that the exclusion from military service, and civil trusts, was both a punishment and an opprobrious distinction. The corporation act, which passed in the year 1661, declared that no person should be elected into any municipal office who should not, one year before his election, have taken the sacrament, according to the usage of the church of England. This act was levelled indiscriminately against Protestant and Catholic dissenters; but in

the year 1673, the era of the test act, the face of things was materially changed. The jealousy of Parliament, in regard to the Protestant dissenters, had now subsided, and the alarm of all the different denominations of Protestants was equally excited by the danger to which Protestantism itself was exposed by the flagrant attempts of the court to effect the restoration of the Popish religion. The King himself was believed, on good ground, to be a concealed Papist. In this state of the nation the test act was passed, as a measure of general policy and safety. It was entitled, "An act for preventing the danger which may happen from Popish recusants;" and the dissenters, far from concurring in the opposition made by the court to this bill, publicly declared, through the medium of Mr. Alderman Love, one of the members for the city of London, and himself a dissenter, that, in a time of public danger, they would in nowise impede the progress of a measure deemed essential to the safety of the kingdom, but would trust to the justice of Parliament that a future provision should be made for their relief. On this motion the examples of Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Russia, Prussia, and all the dominions of the Emperor, were cited against the system of annexing civil disqualifications to religious opinions. In discussing the general policy of the corporation and test acts, Mr. Beaufoy observed, that from the members of the House of Peers no religious test was required, whence he strongly inferred the absurdity of the imposition in question. Mr. Pitt and Lord North urged that the acts in question were meant to include both Papist and Protestant dissenters, and that the corporation act, in particular, was professedly made against the sectaries, and not against Papists, though it eventually included both. They contended that the interest of the established church might be endangered by the

repeal proposed; and at length Mr. Beaufoy's motion was negatived by 178 against 100.

The attention of the House of Commons, and of the nation, was soon afterwards transferred to the state of the Prince of Wales's finances. When his Royal Highness attained the age of twenty-one, in the year 1783, the sum of 50,000*l.* per annum was allotted to him, out of the civil-list revenue, to defray the expense of his establishment. Considering the numerous salaries payable to the officers of his household, this sum was inadequate to the support of his rank and situation in life; and the then ministers, Mr. Fox and Lord North, strongly insisted upon the necessity of fixing his Royal Highness's revenue at 100,000*l.* per annum, which the late King had enjoyed as Prince of Wales, when the civil list produced 200,000*l.* per annum less than at present. To this the King positively objected; and the Prince, to prevent disagreeable consequences, declared that he chose to depend upon the spontaneous bounty of the King. The result was, that the Prince, in the four years which had since elapsed, had contracted debts to a large amount, and his conduct was severely censured by the public for heedlessness and prodigality, it being too notorious that his Royal Highness was exempt from none of those youthful indiscretions and excesses by which men of high rank, in early life, are for the most part so unhappily characterized. A report of a very serious nature had also gained general credit, *viz.* that the Prince had contracted a secret marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of the Roman Catholic religion. Such a marriage, it is true, in whatever mode it was solemnized, could not, by the royal marriage act, be regarded as legal; in addition to which, by a clause in the act of settlement, should the legality of the marriage be affirmed, the Prince, by marrying a Papist, would forfeit his right

of succession to the crown. His situation, therefore, was in the highest degree critical. Finding his embarrassments continually increasing, the Prince, in the summer of 1786, applied to the King for assistance; but, meeting with a refusal, he adopted a resolution highly to his honour. Suppressing the establishment of his household, he formally vested 40,000*l.* per annum of his revenue in the hands of trustees, for the liquidation of his debts. His race-horses, his hunters, and even his coach-horses, were sold by public auction; and the elegant improvements and additions making to Carlton House were suddenly stopped, and the most splendid apartments shut up. In less than a month from the period in which he had discharged his household the attempt was made on the life of the Sovereign, as already related. The Prince was at Brighton when this event took place, and the account reached him by the information of a private friend. Without a moment's delay he travelled post to Windsor, and had an interview with her Majesty, upon which occasion it might have been expected that the affection which naturally subsists between the parent and the child would have produced an instantaneous and perfect reconciliation: they did not, however, see each other. The King was supposed to be displeased with the circumstance of the Prince having discharged his household without consulting his inclinations or demanding his consent, and it was also generally believed that he participated in the feelings of many of his subjects respecting Mrs. Fitzherbert. To counteract the effects of the rumoured marriage, it was absolutely necessary that the report should be contradicted by the person to whom it immediately related. In the present case, however, there were strong reasons for not adopting this expedient: the pride of the lady's family, the delicacy due to herself, seemed to require that a

certain degree of mystery and silence should rest upon the transaction. From this combination of circumstances the coldness, reserve, and distance, unhappily subsisting for some time between his Majesty and the Prince, will find an easy solution.

The Prince, whose political connexions lay among the opposition, had lived in a state of retirement for near a twelvemonth, when he was persuaded to countenance a proposal for laying the state of his affairs before Parliament; and on the 20th of April, in the present year, Mr. Alderman Newnham, member for the city of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an address to the King, praying him to take the situation of the Prince into consideration, and to grant him such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit, and pledging the House to make good the same. This occasioned an interesting conversation, and Mr. Newnham was earnestly entreated to withdraw his motion, as fertile of inconvenience and mischief. Mr. Pitt observed that, by the perseverance of Mr. Newnham, he should be driven to the disclosure of circumstances which he should otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal. Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, averred that the investigation of this question involved in it circumstances which tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state. Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and other gentlemen in the confidence of the Prince, declared, that there was nothing which his Royal Highness less feared than a full and impartial investigation of his conduct; and nothing that he would more deprecate than a studied ambiguity, or affected tenderness, on the pretence of respect or indulgence. Mr. Rolle was called upon, though in vain, to explain the extraordinary language he had used. A few days afterwards Mr. Fox again called the attention of the House to the declaration of Mr. Rolle. To

what that declaration alluded, Mr. Fox said, it was impossible to ascertain, till the person who made it thought proper to explain his meaning: but he supposed it must refer to that base and malicious calumny which had been propagated without doors by the enemies of the Prince, with a view to depreciate his character, and injure him in the esteem of his country. Mr. Fox further declared, that the Prince had authorized him to assert, that, as a peer of Parliament, he was ready in the other House to submit to any of the most pointed questions that could be put to him upon the subject, or to afford the King or his ministers the fullest assurance of the utter falsehood of the fact in question. Mr. Rolle now thought proper to acknowledge that the subject upon which Mr. Fox had spoken was the matter to which he had alluded, as affecting both church and state. The reports, he said, relative to this transaction, had made a deep impression upon the minds of all men who loved and venerated the constitution. He knew that this thing could not have been accomplished under the formal sanction of law; but if it existed as a fact it might be productive of the most alarming consequences, and ought to be satisfactorily cleared up. Mr. Fox replied that he did not deny the calumny in question merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but he denied it *in toto*, in fact as well as in law. The fact not only could never happen legally, but never did happen any way, and had, from the beginning, been a vile and malignant falsehood. Mr. Rolle asked, whether, in what he now asserted, Mr. Fox spoke from direct authority? to which the latter replied that he did. In consequence of these asseverations, Mr. Rolle was loudly called upon to express his satisfaction; but this he obstinately refused, saying only that the House would judge for themselves of what had passed. Mr. Sheridan

warmly declared, that if Mr. Rolle persisted in his refusal, or otherwise to put the matter into such a state of inquiry as *should* satisfy him, the House ought to come to a resolution that it was seditious and disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the character of the Prince. Mr. Pitt here interposed, and protested against so flagrant an attack on the freedom of speech and deliberation in that House.

Subsequently to this discussion, at the desire of the King, an interview took place between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt, at Carlton House; and the Prince was informed that, if the intended motion were withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his Royal Highness's satisfaction. This being acceded to, a message was delivered from the King to the House, stating his Majesty's great concern that, from the accounts of the Prince of Wales, it appeared that he had incurred a debt to a very large amount, which, painful as it was to him to propose any addition to the burdens of his people, he was induced, by his paternal affection to the Prince, to desire the assistance of Parliament to discharge—on the well-grounded expectation, nevertheless, of the Prince's avoiding to contract any similar debt in future; with a view to which, the King had directed a sum of 10,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to his former allowance. The next day, after the accounts referred to in the royal message were laid before the House, and of which the dignified generosity of Parliament suffered not the inspection, an address was voted to the King, to request him to direct the sum of 161,000*l.* to be paid out of the civil list for the full discharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales, and the further sum of 20,000*l.* to complete the repairs of Carlton House.

During this period Mr. Hastings's impeachment was proceeding. Mr. Sheridan, on the 7th of

February, opened the third charge, relative to the resumption of the jaghires, and the confiscation of the treasures of the Begums or Princesses of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the reigning Nabob. The subject was particularly favourable to a display of that kind of impassioned eloquence in which the orators of antiquity, when acting as public accusers, so much excelled; and it was universally agreed that never, in the British Senate, was a speech of this class delivered comparable to that with which Mr. Sheridan, during five hours and a half, rivetted the attention of a full House. Of its force it is scarcely possible, in a brief extract, to convey an idea. "The conduct of Mr. Hastings," he said, "respecting the Nabob and Begums of Oude, comprehended in it every species of human offence. He had been guilty of rapacity at once violent and insatiable, of treachery cool and premeditated, of oppression unprovoked, of barbarity wanton and unmanly. So long since as the year 1775, the Begum Princess, widow of Sujah ul Dowla, had written to Mr. Hastings in the following moving terms:—'If it is your pleasure that the mother of the late Nabob, that myself, his other women, and his infant children, should be reduced to a state of dishonour and distress, we must submit. But if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendship of the late blessed Nabob, you will exert yourself effectually in favour of us who are helpless.' Inflamed by disappointment at Benares, he hastened to the fortress of Chunar, to put in execution the atrocious design of instigating the Nabob, son of this Princess, to parricide and plunder. No sooner had Mr. Hastings determined to invade the substance of Justice, than he resolved to avail himself of her judicial forms, and despatched a messenger for the chief-justice of India to assist him in perpetrating the violence he had meditated. Without a

moment's pause, or the shadow of process instituted, sentence was pronounced. And thus, at the same time that the sword of government was converted to an assassin's dagger, the pure ermine of justice was stained and soiled with the basest contamination. It was clear to demonstration that the Begums were not concerned in the insurrection of Benares. No: their treasures were their treason. If the mind of Mr. Hastings were susceptible of superstition, he might image the proud spirit of Sujah ul Dowla looking down upon the ruin and devastation of his family; beholding the palace which he had adorned with the spoils of the devoted Rohillas plundered by his base and perfidious ally; and viewing the man whom, on his death-bed, he had constituted the guardian of his wife, his mother, and his family, forcibly exposing those dear relations, the objects of his solemn trust, to the rigour of the merciless seasons, or the violence of the more merciless soldiery. Such were the awful dispensations of retributive justice! It was not given to that House to witness the tremulous joys of the millions whom the vote of that night would save from the cruelty of corrupted power. But the blessings of the people thus delivered would not be dissipated in empty air. No; they would lift up their prayers to Heaven in gratitude to the power, which, by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, had saved them from ruin and destruction." Though the speech of Mr. Sheridan excited a sensation in the House, which perhaps no degree of ministerial influence could have counteracted, it would be highly invidious to attribute the conduct of Mr. Pitt, on this occasion, to the dread of being left in a minority. On the contrary, he appeared penetrated with a conviction of the atrocity of the facts, and of the strength of the evidence by which they were supported: and the minister,

who, in the comparatively insignificant business of an election return, could so far degrade himself as to vindicate an act of deliberate injustice, now felt all the sympathies of humanity, all the energies of virtue, awakened in his breast, and impelling him to testify, in terms the most explicit, his detestation of perfidy so vile, of cruelty so remorseless. On a division the numbers were, in favour of the motion 175, against it 68.

On the 2d of March Mr. Pelham opened the fourth charge, comprehending the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Mr. Hastings towards the Nabob of Ferruckabad, which was carried by 112 against 50. On the 15th the charge respecting contracts was brought forward by Sir James Erskine, and on this article the division was, ayes 60, noes 26. The charge relative to Fyzoola Khan was introduced by Mr. Windham on the 22d, and was carried by 96 against 37. The seventh charge, respecting the corrupt receiving of bribes and presents, was opened, on the 2d of April, by Mr. Sheridan; and on this occasion he observed, "that the late governor-general had, in every part of his conduct, exhibited proofs of a wild, eccentric, and irregular mind. He had been every thing by starts, and nothing long: now high and lofty, now mean and insidious,—now artful and temporizing, now rigid and inflexible,—in pride, in passion, in all things changeable, except in corruption. His revenge was a tempest, a tornado blackening the horizon, and involving all within the sphere of its influence in one common destruction. But his corruption was regular and systematic, a monsoon blowing uniformly from one point of the compass, and wafting the wealth of India to the same port in one certain direction." Upon a division the numbers appeared, ayes 165, noes 64. On the 19th the charge respecting the revenues was opened by Mr. Francis,

who had formerly occupied the office of member of the supreme council in India, and who had recently taken his seat as a member of the House of Commons. He commenced by disclaiming all personal hostility towards Mr. Hastings, and affirmed that General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and himself, on their appointment as members of the council in 1773, went to Calcutta impressed with the most exalted idea of his public character, but were soon convinced of their mistake. Mr. Francis then entered into an elaborate discussion of the charge, enumerating the different modes of managing the revenues of Bengal adopted by Mr. Hastings in the course of thirteen years. At the time of his accession to the government, the provinces had not perfectly recovered the effects of the dreadful famine which had taken place in Bengal at a very recent period; yet then did the committee of circuit, under the sanction of Mr. Hastings, raise the rents of the zemindaries to an unheard-of standard; and by the ensuing project of 1781 the whole landed property of the country was put up to a pretended auction; the proprietors were universally deprived of their estates; and banyans, cheats, and adventurers of all sorts, put into possession of their lands. Under this settlement Cantoo Baboo, Mr. Hastings's banyan, held farms to the amount of 135,000*l.* per annum. The directors had ordered the persons composing the committee of circuit to be prosecuted, but Mr. Hastings had ordered the prosecution to be withdrawn. A committee of revenue was subsequently introduced, under the influence of Gunga Govind Sing, a notorious and adroit villain, which completed the ruin of the country. When Mr. Hastings came into possession of the Bengal government, he found it a fertile, populous, and prosperous country; it contained a regular gradation of ranks, like a pyramid, from a well-ordered

yeomanry to sovereign princes : but these distinctions have been broken down—the whole nation has been pounded, as it were, by the oppression of the government, into one mass—and the Prince was no otherwise discoverable from the peasant than by the superiority of his sufferings, and the more pungent bitterness of his humiliations. Mr. Francis concluded in these words:—"My particular labour is now at an end. An unremitting perseverance of thirteen years has at last conducted me to that issue which has been the object of all my efforts. Mr. Hastings must now be impeached: let him have a fair trial—I desire no more. In arriving at that object, I have secured every personal purpose that I ever had in view; the reputation of Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson, and myself, is secure; your votes are my authority; the House of Commons are my compurgators. The only victory I ever aimed at was to clear my character from foul aspersion, and to establish, as I trust I have done, the integrity of my conduct in the estimation of my country." This charge was opposed on the ground that the House had already agreed on one nearly similar, the accepting of bribes and presents; and that it was not, in part, satisfactorily substantiated. The question was only confirmed by 71 against 55.

On the 9th of May the report made by Mr. Burke from the committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the House, ayes 175, noes 89; and, on the following day, it was voted that Mr. Hastings be impeached. Mr. Burke, accordingly, "in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain," repaired to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeached Mr. Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors; at the same time acquainting their lordships that the Commons would, with all convenient speed, exhibit articles against

him, and make good the same. On the 14th another charge, respecting misdemeanors in Oude, was added to the former by Mr. Burke, and voted without a division. On the same day, the articles actually prepared were sent to the Lords; and on the 21st, Mr. Hastings, being conducted to the bar of that House by the sergeant at arms, was taken into the custody of the black rod, but, on the motion of the lord-chancellor, was admitted to bail—himself in 20,000*l.* and two sureties, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Sumner, in 10,000*l.* each: and he was ordered to deliver in an answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the second day of the next session of Parliament.

The session was closed on the 30th of May, when the King delivered a speech, commending the measures taken by Parliament respecting the reduction of the national debt, and the treaty of navigation and commerce with the most Christian King. He spoke of the general tranquillity of Europe, and lamented the dissensions which unhappily prevailed amongst the States of the United Provinces.

During the recess of Parliament, the attention of government was particularly attracted by the troubled state of Holland, the dissensions which had long subsisted between the Stadtholder and the States having risen to an alarming height, and the ultimate event of the contest seeming to depend greatly on the forbearance or interposition of foreign nations. The French were known to be friendly to the States of Holland, but they were too deeply engaged, by their domestic situation, to be able to render them any effectual assistance. On the other hand, the cause of the Stadtholder was warmly espoused by the King of Prussia, in conjunction with Great Britain. In June, 1787, for reasons which have never perfectly transpired, the Princess of Orange, then resident at Nimeguen,

a lady possessing the vigour of character belonging to the royal house of Prussia, adopted the bold and hazardous resolution of proceeding in person to the Hague, where the States General were at that time assembled, accompanied only by the Baroness de Wassanaer, and a few domestics. As might previously be expected, she was arrested in her progress at about a league beyond Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. If the King of Prussia recommended this journey with a view of drawing from it, as was generally believed, some plausible ground of interfering in behalf of the house of Orange, it fully answered his intention, for this incident brought matters to a crisis. On the 10th of July a memorial was addressed by the Prussian monarch to the States of Holland, in which he affected to consider the indignity offered to the Princess of Orange, his sister, as a personal insult to himself; and, to avenge this affront, the Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian forces in the contiguous Duchy of Cleves, entered Holland, at the head of 20,000 men, on the 13th of September. Notwithstanding the previous probability of this invasion, the consternation of the Dutch nation was extreme, and the country seemed every where unprepared for resistance. Utrecht, distinguished beyond all other cities of the Union by the violence of her democratic zeal, surrendered almost as soon as summoned, and the march of the Prussian general bore the appearance of a triumphal procession. While a futile resolve to suspend the office of Stadtholder passed the Senate of Amsterdam, Gorcum, Dordt, Schoonhoven, and other towns in his route, submitted tamely to the conqueror. On the seventh day from the commencement of the invasion, the Prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague. In Amsterdam, alone, the resolution was adopted of attempting a

defence ; but on the 10th of October, being closely invested, its gates were opened to a foreign garrison. To the astonishment of the world, that republic which had maintained a contest of eighty years against the power of Spain, which contended for the empire of the ocean with Great Britain, and which repulsed the attacks of Louis the Fourteenth in the zenith of his glory, was overrun by the arms of Prussia in a single month. In this transaction Prussia acted in avowed concert with England ; and on this occasion the British government concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, by which the latter engaged to furnish England with a body of 12,000 men at four weeks' notice, for 36,000*l.* per annum. So late as the month of September, and just before the Duke of Brunswick began his march, France tardily professed her intention of assisting the Dutch in case they were attacked by any foreign power. This only animated the court of London to act with the greater spirit, and vigorous naval preparations were made to support the King of Prussia, in opposition to the menacing declarations of France. The object of the Prussian expedition, however, being accomplished in a much shorter space of time than could have been imagined, the court of Versailles found itself disengaged from all obligations. The Duke of Dorset, ambassador at Paris, in consequence of the events which had taken place, presented, on the 27th of October, a memorial to the King of France, signifying, that no subject of discussion, much less of contest, remaining between the two courts, he was authorized to ask, whether it was the intention of his most Christian Majesty to carry into effect the notification made by his plenipotentiary, which, by announcing that succours would be given to Holland, had occasioned the naval armaments on the part of his Britannic Ma-

jesty, which armaments had been reciprocal. If the court of Versailles was disposed to explain itself satisfactorily on the subject, the ambassador proposed that all warlike preparations should be discontinued, and that the navies of the two nations should be again placed on the footing of the peace establishment, as it stood on the 1st of January preceding. To this memorial the Count de Montmorin, the new minister for foreign affairs in France, replied on the very same day, in a style of extraordinary moderation, that the intention of his Majesty not being, and never having been, to interfere by force in the affairs of Holland, the communication made to the court of London, on the 16th of the last month, having had no other object than to announce to that court an intention, the motives to which no longer existed, especially since the King of Prussia had imparted his resolution, his Majesty made no scruple to declare, that he would not give any effect to the declaration above mentioned, and agreed with pleasure to the proposal of mutually disarming, made on the part of his Britannic Majesty.

In consequence of these transactions, it was found necessary to assemble the British Parliament somewhat earlier than usual in time of peace; and on the 27th of November, the King, in opening the sittings, remarked, that, at the close of the last session, he had informed them of the concern with which he observed the disputes unhappily subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces. Their situation soon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The King of Prussia having demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to the Princess of Orange, his sister, the party which had usurped the government applied to the most Christian King for assistance; and that prince having notified to his Majesty his intention of granting their request, the King gave immediate orders for augmenting his

forces both by sea and land; and in the course of this transaction he had concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. In the mean time, the rapid success of the Duke of Brunswick enabled the Provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured; and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the courts of London and Versailles. The addresses in answer to the speech were voted with great unanimity in both Houses; and the subsidy to Hesse passed without a dissentient vote. Mr. Fox took credit to himself for having always maintained the opinion, that this country ought to assume an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe, as well as for having warned the House against the perfidious designs of France, in contradiction to those assertions of her amicable disposition which had been made when the commercial treaty was in agitation.

In a short time treaties of alliance were concluded between the courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague; by which the two former guarantied the Stadtholderate in perpetuity to the serene house of Orange, as an essential part of the constitution of the United Provinces. By the treaty between the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, each of the high contracting powers engaged, in case of attack, to furnish the other with a succour of 16,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, or an equivalent in money, within the term of two months from the date of the requisition.

The army establishment, which had been reduced from seventy to sixty-four regiments at the termination of the war, was now raised to the customary complement. A great naval promotion had also taken place, in the contemplation of a war with France; in which sixteen captains had been selected

for flags, while a much greater number had been passed over in silence and neglect. A motion was consequently made in the House of Commons, "that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the admiralty in the business of the late promotion." This motion was negatived by a very small majority; and the first lord of the admiralty, Lord Howe, became the subject of severe censure. His lordship soon afterwards resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Chatham. About the same time the Earl of Mansfield resigned the chief-justiceship of England, which he had held with high reputation thirty-two years. The vacancy thus made was supplied by the attorney-general, Sir Lloyd Kenyon, created Lord Kenyon.

The most considerable legislative measure of the present session related to a controversy which had arisen between the board of control and the East India Company. At the moment of the general alarm excited by the affairs of Holland, government proposed to the directors to send out four regiments of the King's troops, as a reinforcement to the army in India, upon condition that the whole expense was defrayed by the company. The proposal was at first partly accepted; but the rumour of war having subsided, the matter was re-considered, and finally rejected. The directors contended, that Lord North's bill of 1781 expressly provided, that the company should pay only for such troops as by *their* requisition should be sent to India; and the opinion of different eminent lawyers, who had been consulted on the subject, appeared perfectly to coincide with them: part of the troops, however, were already prepared for embarkation, and the company refused to admit them on board their ships. Mr. Pitt, in consequence, moved, on the 25th of February, 1788, to bring in a bill for removing the doubts in question,

and for declaring that the intention of the legislature, in the act of 1784, was agreeable to the construction put upon it by the board of control. This act had proved, as had been foretold, a source of perpetual altercation and dispute between the boards of direction and control; and an attempt to explain and determine its sense, by a declaratory law, was an unanswerable proof of its imperfections. The measure was most formidably opposed. Mr. Sheridan called upon the House to compare the powers of Mr. Fox's commissioners with those which were now asserted to belong to the board of control. Lord Fitzwilliam could not send out a despatch; he could neither declare war nor make peace in India; he could neither collect the revenues of the company, nor apply them to the purposes he should think proper, without having first the pleasure of the King signified to him through the medium of the secretary of state. The board of control could do all this. Mr. Burke desired to be informed, by administration, whether, when they brought in the act of 1784, and complained that Mr. Fox's bill took too much, they had honestly stated, that all they meant to take was the military power, the political direction, the management of the revenue, and as much as they could get of the commerce? The question of commitment was carried by a majority of 57 voices only; and in the House of Lords it also experienced a violent opposition, but was carried by 71 against 28. A protest, signed by sixteen peers, reprobated the declaratory bill as friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal, hostile to all good government, and abhorrent to the principles of our constitution.

In the early part of the session, Mr. Hastings had delivered in his answer to the impeachment of the Commons, who immediately appointed a committee of managers to make good the same, and the trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1788,

in Westminster Hall, which was fitted up for the purpose with great magnificence. Two days being occupied in reading the articles of impeachment and the answers to them, Mr. Burke, on the 15th, opened the cause, in a speech which occupied four days. The managers of the impeachment having then stated their intention to proceed to a conclusion of each article of the charge singly, on both sides, before another was entered upon, this mode was objected to by Mr. Hastings's counsel, and, after a vigorous debate by the Lords, a large majority determined that the whole of the charges collectively should be gone through by the impeachers, before the accused should be called upon to make his defence. On the 22d of February the Benares charge was opened by Mr. Fox, and concluded on the 25th by Mr. Grey, member for Northumberland, afterwards Lord Grey, whose early talents attracted, in a considerable degree, the attention of the House. On the 15th of April the charge relative to the Begums of Oude was brought forward by Mr. Adam, the evidence on which was summed up by Mr. Sheridan; and on the 15th of June, being the 35th day of sitting, the court adjourned to the first Tuesday after the next meeting of Parliament.

It was also determined, early in the session, to institute a similar process against Sir Elijah Impey, chief-justice of the supreme court established by the regulating act of 1773, and six articles of impeachment were accordingly exhibited to the House by Sir Gilbert Elliot. On the 4th of February Sir Elijah was permitted to make his defence at the bar of the House, which he performed at great length, and with much ability. On the 28th of April Sir Gilbert entered upon his summary of the charge; and, after much discussion, the first charge was negatived, and the consideration of the remainder postponed for three months.

On the 6th of May Mr. Grenville obtained leave

to bring in a bill to limit the number of groundless petitions for undue elections, by empowering the election committee to adjudge that a party presenting a petition which should turn out frivolous, or offering a frivolous defence to a petition, should pay reasonable costs. Also to lay down a rule for establishing the rights of election, and rendering them immutable. The bill was immediately brought in, and passed. On the 8th of June Mr. Pitt stated a proposition for adjusting the claims of the American loyalists, and a sum amounting to about 1,340,000*l.* was voted to them.

Towards the close of the session a bill was brought into the House of Commons by Sir William Dolben, member for the University of Oxford, to regulate the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. Early in the year a multitude of petitions had been presented from the different towns, cities, and counties of the kingdom, imploring the abolition of that traffic. A motion on the subject of these petitions was expected to be made by Mr. Wilberforce, member for Yorkshire; but, in consequence of the long-protracted indisposition of that gentleman, Mr. Pitt, on the 9th of May, moved a resolution importing that the House would, early in the next session, proceed to take into consideration the state of the slave trade. The bill of Sir William Dolben, which was intended merely to establish a certain reasonable proportion between the number of the slaves and the tonnage of the ships, was violently opposed by the merchants of London and Liverpool concerned in the African trade. Counsel was therefore engaged and witnesses examined, when it appeared in evidence, at the bar of the House, that five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth, was the average space allotted to each slave. The lower deck of the vessel was entirely

covered with bodies. The space between the floor of that deck and the roof above, in height about five feet eight inches, was divided by a platform, also covered with human bodies. The slaves were chained two and two by their hands and feet, and by means of ring-bolts fastened to the deck. In that sultry climate their allowance was a pint of water each *per diem*; and they were usually fed twice a day with yams and horse-beans. After meals they were compelled by the whip to jump in their irons, which, by the slave-dealers, was called dancing. They had not, when stowed together, so much room as a man in his coffin, either in length or breadth. They drew their breath with laborious and painful efforts, and many died of suffocation. The customary mortality of the voyage exceeded seventeen times the usual estimate of human life. In reviewing this detestable traffic, Mr. Pitt declared that if, as had been asserted by the members for Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had said on a former day, and, waving every further discussion, give his instant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus shocking to humanity. He trusted that the House, being now in possession of such evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavour to extricate themselves from the guilt and remorse which every man ought to feel, for having so long overlooked such cruelty and oppression. The bill was carried up, on the 18th of June, to the House of Lords, where it encountered the determined opposition of Lord Thurlow. His lordship said, that the bill was full of inconsistency and nonsense. The French had lately offered premiums to encourage the African trade, and the natural presumption was, that we ought to do the same. The Duke of Chandos ventured to predict a general insurrection of the negroes in the West Indies, in

consequence of the agitation of the present question; and Lord Sidney, who had once ranked among the friends of liberty, expressed, in warm terms, his admiration of the system of the slave-laws established in Jamaica, and saw no room for any improvement. The bill, however, was well supported, and finally passed by a considerable majority.

The King put an end to the session on the 11th of July by a speech from the throne, in which he complimented the two Houses on their attention and liberality. His faithful subjects had every reason, he said, to expect the continuance of the blessings of peace; and the engagements which he had recently formed with the King of Prussia and the States General of the United Provinces would, he trusted, promote the security and welfare of his own dominions, and contribute to the general tranquillity of Europe.

Died at Rome, on the 31st of January, Prince Charles Edward Lewis Casimir Stuart, eldest son of the late Pretender to the throne of Great Britain, at the age of sixty-seven years. He was commonly known on the Continent by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the young Pretender. On the demise of his father, in the year 1765, he took upon himself the appellation of King, but this title was not acknowledged by any of the Sovereigns of Europe. He married a princess of the house of Stolberg, by whom he left no issue; but his property, which was considerable, he bequeathed to a natural daughter, whom he had created Duchess of Albany. To his brother, Cardinal York, the sole survivor of the royal house of Stuart, he left his empty pretensions to the crown of England.

This year having completed a century from the Revolution, the memory of that event was celebrated in various parts of the kingdom by rejoicings and

thanksgivings, some of which were observed with more than usual solemnity.

The period of the recess was rendered memorable by the first occurrence of that mental malady which threw so deep a gloom upon the close of this reign. Soon after the prorogation, the King, who had been for some time indisposed, was advised by his physicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, which he was believed to drink in too profuse a quantity. His health appeared, however, during his residence there, greatly improved; but soon after his arrival at Windsor, late in the summer, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms, and, by the end of October, it could no longer be concealed that his malady was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of public business. Parliament stood prorogued to the 20th of November; and, on the 14th of that month, circular letters were addressed by the ministers to the members of the legislature, signifying that the indisposition of the Sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for a further prorogation, and earnestly requesting the attendance of the members. Parliament being accordingly assembled, the state of the King's health was formally notified to the House of Peers by the lord-chancellor, and to the Commons by Mr. Pitt; and as the session could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended and agreed to. Upon the re-assembling of Parliament, on the 4th of December, a report of the board of privy-council was presented to the two Houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians; and it was suggested, that, considering the extreme delicacy of the subject, and the person concerned, Parliament would do well to rest satisfied without any more

direct and express information, especially as the examinations of council had been taken upon oath, which the House of Commons had no power to administer: doubts, however, were started by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and others of the same party, whether Parliament could, in this momentous case, dispense with that sort of evidence on which they had been accustomed to proceed. As the minister's chief object was procrastination, the objection was too acceptable to be warmly contested, and a committee of twenty-one persons in each House was appointed to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the House of Commons on the 10th of December, when a motion was made by Mr. Pitt for the appointment of another committee, to inspect the journals for precedents of such proceedings as had been adopted in former instances, when the sovereign authority was suspended by sickness, infirmity, or any other cause. Mr. Fox opposed the motion, as calculated only for delay. With respect to precedents, there were none, he said, which applied to the present case, and all that was requisite to their ultimate decision had been obtained by the report now lying on the table. He advanced as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the laws of hereditary succession, that whenever the Sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the Sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise. Mr. Pitt immediately rose, and with much warmth declared, that the assertion which had been made by Mr. Fox was little short of treason against the constitution: he pledged himself to prove that the heir-apparent had no more

right, in such a case, to the exercise of the executive power than any other person; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. When the regular exercise of the powers of government was from any cause suspended, to whom, he asked, could the right of providing a remedy for the existing defect devolve but to the people, from whom all the powers of government originated? To assert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to assume the government was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their authority from the people; and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision. Thus was this question at issue between those two great political rivals, in which it was remarkable that Mr. Fox, the great advocate of the rights of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative, and Mr. Pitt, who had been loudly accused of deserting the principles of liberty, stood forth as their intrepid and zealous assertor. All those popular arguments and primary axioms of government, on which the friends of freedom delight to dwell, were upon this occasion urged, by Mr. Pitt, with energy and eloquence: this, however, was idle declamation, because extraneous to the subject. The primary principles of government formed no part of the present controversy. The question was simply, whether, in the appointment of a regent, to supply a defect in the executive power, admitted to be occasioned by a new case, where they have neither precedent nor authority to guide their decision, they were to exercise a judicial or an elective au-

thority? If the former, the business was at an end, for they must necessarily adjudge the regency to the Prince; but if they were to exercise an arbitrary elective power, Mr. Pitt might even make himself the competitor of the Prince of Wales: he had, however, no other object than that of placing the authority of the regent under such strict and embarrassing limitations, as to render the dismissal of himself and his colleagues a matter of extreme difficulty, or at least to facilitate their return to power. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, by asserting strongly the unqualified succession of the Prince of Wales, hoped to defeat the project; and some progress was even made in the formation of a new administration, consisting of the principal members of the former coalition ministry, Lord North only excepted. The motion of Mr. Pitt for a committee to examine into precedents being carried in the Commons, Lord Camden proposed a similar one the next day in the Lords, which also passed without a division. His lordship took this opportunity of severely reproaching the doctrine of Mr. Fox, which was defended by Lords Loughborough and Stormont with considerable ability.

Whatever has the appearance of supporting the democratic branch of the constitution against the claims of prerogative is always popular, but it is not always the most favourable to liberty. To superficial observers, it seems an extension of the people's rights; but it is only by recurring to the first principles of government, and of the constitution, that its real tendency can be ascertained. To invest the Houses of Parliament with the power of regulating the executive department of government, whenever the usual succession, from accidental causes, suffers any interruption, may appear, at first view, only consistent with those enlarged principles of liberty on which the basis of all legi-

timate government ought to be constructed; but it should not be forgotten, that the same reasoning might be extended to the succession in general. The name or title of the supreme magistrate is of little importance, provided he governs according to established laws, the object of which is the welfare of the people; and if the executive department can be conducted under closer restrictions than are at present established, will it not follow that the restrictions should be made permanent, and bind the Sovereign as well as the Regent? The sole object of government is the welfare and protection of the community; it is only a matter of dispute with what prerogatives and powers it is necessary to invest the first officer of the state, in order to enable him to fulfil the functions of his important station, and to carry on, without vexatious interruption, the proper business of the nation. But if certain privileges and prerogatives are necessary in the one case, are they not equally so in the other? The sovereign authority is not a property, but an office; to execute that office, certain powers are necessary; whoever exercises it, under whatever name he acts, should be possessed of those necessary powers; and no man, under any title or denomination, ought to be invested with more than are necessary. Such appears to be the only clear and obvious point of view in which the question of the regency can be placed; and from this view it must be concluded, that the same rule of succession ought to be established as in the case of the demise of the crown. The only circumstance that creates a material difference between the regular succession to the sovereignty and that to the regency, and the chief point in the latter case to be secured, is, that the legal possessor shall not be excluded from a resumption of his proper authority, whenever the existing impediment shall be removed. For this

the faith, integrity, and character of the two other branches of the legislature would have been solemnly pledged; and on these, in every event, the matter must have ultimately depended.

This short statement will serve to illustrate the different opinions supported on this subject by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt: the former asserted that the Prince of Wales had an *absolute right* to succeed to the regency, while the latter admitted only that he had an *irresistible claim*; and, from what has been remarked on the particular views of each of these great parliamentary leaders, the difference was more than verbal. It will serve, at the same time, to supersede the necessity of entering into a detail of the long and generally uninteresting parliamentary debates which succeeded. As it was evident, from the complexion of both Houses, that the Prince's claim, as of right, to the regency, would have been resisted to the utmost, it was not thought advisable to bring the subject to a formal decision, and, on the 15th of December, the Duke of York, in the name of the Prince, expressed his wishes that the question might be waved. His Royal Highness said that no claim of right had been advanced by the Prince of Wales; and he was confident that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick upon the throne, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives. He was followed to the same effect by the Duke of Gloucester. Lord Thurlow, who had at first consented to take a part in the regency administration, now spoke with great energy of his sentiments of affection towards the King. Nothing could be more disgraceful, he said, than to desert the Sovereign in his distressed and helpless situation. His own debt of gratitude was

ample; and, when he forgot his King, might God forget him. These expressions were whispered to be the result of certain intimations, which his lordship had received, of the happy and not very distant prospect of the King's recovery. This was, however, only a matter of speculation.

So confident were ministers in their strength, that on the 16th, the House being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Pitt moved three resolutions, the object of which was to declare that, his Majesty being prevented by indisposition from attending to public business, it was the right and duty of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority. A vehement debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Fox declared the principles of the minister to be, that the monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that the executive power ought to be elective: the legal metaphysics that thus distinguished between the crown and its functions were to him unintelligible. The investigators should be schoolmen, and not statesmen, if a question that so deeply involved the existence of the constitution were to be thus discussed. "Where," said he, "is that famous *dictum* to be found by which the crown is guarded with inviolable sanctity, while its powers are left to the mercy of every assailant? The Prince, it is asserted, has no more right than another person, and at the same time it is acknowledged that Parliament is not at liberty to think of any other Regent; and all this paradoxical absurdity for the paltry triumph of a vote over a political antagonist." The second resolution was carried by 268 against 204; and the third, empowering the chancellor of Great Britain to affix the great seal to such bills of limitations as might be necessary to restrict the power of the future Regent, passed

on the 23d. This mode of procedure was warmly opposed by Lord North. "A person," said his lordship, "is to be set up without power or discretion, and this pageant, this fictitious being, is to give the force of a law to the decisions of the two Houses. Was it ever before heard of, that there could be a power of giving assent without the power of refusing that assent? Would any man seriously maintain, that the third estate, thus conjured up, is really distinct from the other two?" Mr. Dempster moved an amendment, "that the Prince of Wales be requested to take upon himself the administration of the government during the royal incapacity," which was negatived by 251 to 178. In the Lords a similar amendment was moved by Lord Rawdon, but after a violent debate the resolutions were confirmed.

On the 2d of January, 1789, Mr. Cornewall, speaker of the House of Commons, expired, and the House, in consequence, adjourned to the 5th, when two members were proposed for the appointment, the Hon. W. Grenville, brother to Lord Temple, and Sir Gilbert Elliot. On a division, the former was chosen by 215 votes to 144; and, amid the pressure of affairs so much more important, the irregularity of entering upon the duties of the office, without the previous sanction of royal approbation, was scarcely noticed.

The plan of limitations, when ready to be brought into the House, was obstructed by a motion of Mr. Loveden on the 6th of January, that the physicians be re-examined on the subject of the King's illness, and the probability of recovery. This motion, which was the result of various reports respecting a disagreement of opinion among the physicians themselves, gave rise to a second report, which left the House, with regard to the event, as much in the dark as ever, answering no other purpose than to

create delay, of which the minister well knew the advantage. A letter was, however, at length written to the Prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt, informing his Royal Highness of the plan meant to be pursued: that the care of the King's person and the disposition of the royal household should be committed to the Queen, who would by this means be vested with the patronage of 400 places, amongst which were the great offices of lord-steward, lord-chamberlain, and master of the horse; that the power of the Prince should not extend to the granting any office, reversion, or pension, for any other term than during the King's pleasure, nor to the conferring any peerage. The answer of the Prince was firm, dignified, and temperate. It was with deep regret, he said, that he perceived, in the propositions of administration, a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity, in every branch of the administration of affairs—a project for dividing the royal family from each other—for separating the court from the state, and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity. He observed, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which called for the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the Prince in consenting, that, in his person, an experiment should be made to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country could be conducted. In fine, the Prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise

outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which, of all the King's subjects, he deplored the most.

A series of propositions respecting the limitations were brought into the House of Commons, by Mr. Pitt, on the 16th of January. In one of the long and violent debates which ensued, Mr. Burke pronounced this to be no other than a solemn mockery of royalty, when it was known to the whole world that Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, had hurled the Monarch from his throne, and had reduced him to a state in which he was the object of compassion to the meanest of his subjects. The propositions at length passed the Commons by a large majority, but the contest in the Lords was extremely obstinate; and a protest was entered on the 23d of January upon the journals of the House, signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland, and fifty-five other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at the restrictions on the executive authority thus arbitrarily imposed. A committee, appointed by the two Houses, then presented the resolutions to the Prince, who, though evidently dissatisfied, declared his acceptance of them. He expressed himself sensible of the difficulties which must attend the execution of the trust reposed in him, in the peculiar circumstances in which it was committed to his charge, "of which," said his Royal Highness, "as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience." He also expressed his confidence that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority were intended by the two Houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which he ardently participated, that his Majesty's disorder

might not be of long duration. On the following day, January the 31st, Lord Camden moved, "with a view to restore the efficacy of legislation," that the lord-chancellor be directed, by authority of the two Houses of Parliament, to issue a commission in the name of the Sovereign for opening the session, consisting of the princes of the blood and all the great officers of state. This finally passed both Houses, but the princes expressly refused to suffer their names to appear on the commission: the session, however, was opened in form by the lords commissioners on the 3d of February, and the bill, founded on the propositions already agreed upon, passed the House of Commons on the 12th, with some amendments and variations, the peerage clause, in particular, being limited to three years.

Happily for the nation, these extraordinary measures were arrested in their progress by an official intimation from the lord-chancellor, that the King was declared by his physicians to be in a state of convalescence. An adjournment of all further proceedings in the bill immediately took place; and for nearly three weeks a total suspension of all Parliamentary business ensued. This was followed by a declaration, on the 10th of March, that his Majesty, being perfectly recovered from his indisposition, had ordered a commission to be issued for holding the Parliament in the usual manner. The news of the King's recovery diffused the most general satisfaction, and the 23d of April was appointed as a day of national thanksgiving, when his Majesty went in grand procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, to offer up his grateful devotions on this event, which was celebrated throughout the kingdom by splendid illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy, to an unprecedented extent.

The conduct of the Irish Parliament, in this business, formed a striking contrast to that of the

English. The indisposition of the Sovereign being ascertained, Mr. Conolly moved, on the 11th of February, that an address be presented to the Prince of Wales, requesting him immediately to take upon himself the government of that kingdom, as Regent, during the continuance of the King's incapacity, which was carried without a division. This resolution the House of Lords confirmed by a majority of 19; but the lord-lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham (late Earl Temple), refused to transmit the address to England, and commissioners were appointed, by both Houses, to present it in person to the Prince of Wales, who in his reply assured them, that nothing could obliterate from his memory the sentiments of gratitude which he felt for their generous kindness.

The British Parliament, as already intimated, was opened by commission; and, in the speech which was delivered by the chancellor in the name of the King, his Majesty conveyed to the two Houses his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person, and their concern for the honour and interests of his crown. The late proceedings of the ministry were evidently acceptable to the Sovereign; and those persons holding posts under the government, who had concurred in the measures of the opposition, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices: amongst them were the Marquis of Lothian, the Duke of Queensbury, Lord Carteret, and Lord Malmesbury.

One of the first motions was that of Mr. Fox for the repeal of the shop tax; and, as Mr. Pitt did not choose any longer to refuse his assent, it was this time successful. Mr. Dempster, at the same time, moved for a repeal of the hawkers' and pedlars' tax, which could not be obtained; but a bill passed to explain and amend the act, by which the more

oppressive clauses were mitigated. Mr. Beaufoy, on the 8th of May, again renewed his motion for the repeal of the corporation and test acts, prompted, he said, by the unalterable confidence which the dissenters reposed in the disposition of the House to do justice to the injured, and to afford relief to the oppressed. Mr. Fox supported this motion with a force of argument which made a great impression upon his hearers. He laid it down, as a primary axiom of policy, that no human government had jurisdiction over opinions, as such, and more particularly religious opinions. It had no right to presume that it knew them, and much less to act upon that presumption. When opinions were productive of acts injurious to society, the law knew where and how to apply the remedy. If the reverse of this doctrine were adopted, if the actions of men were to be prejudged from their opinions, it would sow the seeds of everlasting jealousy and distrust; it would give the most unlimited scope to the malignant passions; it would excite each man to divine the opinions of his neighbour, to deduce mischievous consequences from them, and then to prove that he ought to incur disabilities, to be fettered with restrictions, to be harassed with penalties. Every extravagance of religious hate, every system of political persecution, and every species of party zeal, had flowed from this intolerant principle. Mr. Fox declared himself a friend to an establishment of religion in every country, framed agreeably to the sentiments of the majority of its inhabitants; but to invest that establishment with a monopoly of civil and religious privileges was, he said, palpably unjust. Indulgence to other sects, a candid respect for their opinions, a desire to promote charity and good-will, were the best proofs that any religion could give of its Divine origin. The motion was opposed by

Lord North and Mr. Pitt, and was negatived by 122 against 102.

Lord Stanhope next introduced a bill into the House of Peers, for the repeal of a number of obsolete laws, inflicting penalties upon persons absenting themselves from the service of the church, speaking in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, using sorcery, &c. which, he observed, were a disgrace to our statute-books. Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, decidedly opposed the measure, and contended, that if unrestrained speaking, writing, and publishing on the subject of religion were tolerated, there was scarcely any mischief to the church, or to civil society, that imagination could frame, which might not be effected. The very foundation of religion, as by law established, might be undermined and overthrown. Dr. Horseley, Bishop of St. David's, declared that the bill in question was calculated to tear away the foundations of the church of England, and through her means to destroy the very being of the English constitution, and after a most formidable opposition it was rejected. Lord Stanhope shortly after introduced a bill to prevent suits in the ecclesiastical courts for the recovery of tithes, which was also rejected.

At an advanced period of the session, Mr. Wilberforce brought forward his motion relating to the abolition of the African slave trade. He divided his subject into three parts: the nature of the trade as it affected Africa itself; the appearance it assumed in the transportation of the slaves; and the considerations suggested by their actual state in the West Indies. What must be the natural consequence of a slave trade with Africa, said he, with a country vast in its extent, not utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very small degree? Was it not plain that she must suffer from it, that her savage manners must be rendered still more ferocious, and

that a slave trade carried on round her coasts must extend violence and desolation to her very centre? Such were precisely the circumstances proved by the evidence before the privy-council. With respect to the mode in which the slaves were transported from Africa to the West Indies, he affirmed that so much misery, condensed into so small a compass, was more than human imagination had ever before conceived. It was the constant practice to set sail in the night, that the slaves, wrung with distress at quitting for ever their native country, might not be sensible of the moment of departure. This dreadful event was marked with songs and tears of lamentation. It appeared in evidence, that a captain, more susceptible than the rest, had threatened a woman with the terrors of the lash, because her song was too painful for his feelings. The mortality on board the ships was prodigious; and, including the subsequent seasoning, it did not amount to less than 50 per cent. On their arrival in the West Indies, astringents and washes were employed to hide their wounds, and make them up for sale—artifices at once fraudulent and fatal. This infamous traffic was also known to be the grave of sailors employed in it. Of 3170 seamen who sailed from Liverpool in 1787, only 1428 had returned. Mr. Wilberforce said he felt the wickedness of the slave trade to be so enormous, so dreadful, and irremediable, that he could stop at no alternative short of its abolition. He acknowledged that his mind had indeed been harassed with the objections of the West India planters, who had asserted that the ruin of their property must be the consequence of this regulation. He could not, however, help distrusting their arguments. He could not believe that the Almighty Being, who forbade the practice of rapine and blood, had made rapine and bloodshed necessary to any part of his

creation. Light soon broke in upon his mind. His suspicions were confirmed by daily information, and the evidence he had now to offer upon this point was decisive and complete. The principle upon which he founded the necessity of the act was not indeed policy, but justice ; but, though justice were the principle of the measure, he would pledge himself to prove it reconcileable with our truest political interest. From an induction of authentic facts, he showed that the number of slaves had rapidly increased by natural means on those plantations—and many such he enumerated—where they had been treated on a plan of lenity and humanity ; and that the enormous annual importation from Africa was rendered necessary merely by the prevalence of that system of cruelty and oppression which the abolition of the slave trade must eventually subvert. But it was urged, that the interests of the masters would induce them, in the usual course of things, to treat their slaves with kindness and humanity. He appealed to universal experience for the fallacy of this argument. It was certainly the true and ultimate interest of the planters to adopt the system of lenity ; but they consulted their apparent and immediate interest in imposing rigorous tasks, and in circumscribing within the narrowest limits their miserable allotments of food, of clothing, and of repose. To assert that men will of course act as their interest under the guidance of reason would dictate, is, in effect, to pronounce all men upright and virtuous ; for virtue is the path to genuine happiness. But are not mankind, he asked, enveloped in the mists of ignorance, of folly, and of passion ? Was it not the grand and perpetual object of religion, of morality, and of all just and beneficent legislation, to enlighten the human mind, and to assist men in discerning their true interest ; to warn them of the danger of departing from it, of

being deceived by false and flattering suggestions,—in a word, to incite them, though too oft in vain, to the practice of what is right, and to deter them from the commission of that which is wrong, by motives the most powerful, by sanctions the most sacred? Mr. Wilberforce concluded a long and eloquent speech by moving twelve propositions, specifying the number of slaves imported from Africa into the British West Indies; the different descriptions of persons included in this aggregate number; the injury sustained by the seamen employed in the African trade; the causes of the mortality of the negroes; and the different items of calculation respecting the increase of population in Jamaica and Barbadoes; declaring, that no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the further importation. The members for London, and several great trading towns, degraded themselves by becoming advocates for the continuance of this detestable traffic; but, perceiving that the sense of the nation was decidedly in favour of the abolition, and alarmed at the support the ministry gave to the measure, as well as the reception it met with in the House, Lord Penryn, one of its opposers, asserted that, to his knowledge, the planters were now willing to assent to any regulation of the trade, short of its abolition. In reply to this remark, Mr. Fox, with great animation, declared that he knew of no such thing as a regulation of robbery, and restriction of murder: there was no medium: the legislature must either abolish the trade, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it was attended. Mr. Pitt at length conceded, with the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, to the examination of witnesses on the part of the slave merchants and planters, trusting that unnecessary delays would not be introduced, as he could by no means submit to the ultimate procrastination of so important a

business. Evidence having been heard at the bar of the House for several successive weeks, and the session being far advanced, the friends of the abolition consented, on the 23d of June, to an adjournment of the question to the succeeding session of Parliament, and the temporary regulation act of Sir William Dolben was renewed for another year.

On the 1st of July Mr. Dundas, in conformity to the India regulation bill, made his annual statement of the finances of the company, which he represented as in a prosperous and flourishing condition; concluding, however, with a motion to empower the company to raise the sum of 1,000,000*l.* by way of increase of capital, to be subscribed by the present proprietors of East India stock. The bill, founded on this motion, passed both Houses without difficulty.

In the annual statement of the finances, it appeared that the income of the country, for each of the last two years, amounted, on an average, to 15,578,000*l.* From several circumstances, however, particularly from the discharge of the Prince of Wales's debts, from a large sum voted to the loyalists, and the expense of the armament in the preceding year, a loan of 1,000,000*l.* became necessary. The interest of this loan Mr. Pitt proposed to discharge by a tontine, which he averaged at four and a half per cent. This sum, he observed, added to some deficiencies, would call for taxes to the amount of 100,000*l.* per annum. To answer this, new duties were laid upon newspapers, advertisements, cards, dice, probates of wills, and upon horses and carriages. Mr. Sheridan strongly controverted the statement of Mr. Pitt, and moved, on the 10th of July, for a committee to inquire into the state of the revenue, in which he pledged himself to prove, that the report of the committee of 1786 was not founded in fact; and that, for the

three last years, the expenditure had exceeded the income to the amount of 2,000,000*l*. Mr. Sheridan's proposal was resisted by the ministerial side of the House, and rejected.

Early in the session the trial of Mr. Hastings was revived, but the intervention of the circuits of the judges rendered it impossible for the Lords to proceed upon the trial before the 20th of April, when the court was resumed, and sat during the remainder of the session seventeen days. The third article, respecting presents illegally and corruptly received by Mr. Hastings, was brought forward by Mr. Burke. In the course of his harangue, the honourable manager, having occasion to mention the charge which had been instituted on this head against Mr. Hastings by Nundcomar, with his usual unguardedness of language, added, that Mr. Hastings had murdered that man by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey. As the transaction respecting Nundcomar made no part of the charges, Mr. Hastings thought proper to present a petition to the House of Commons, in which he entreated them either to cause this and similar allegations, made by Mr. Burke, to be prosecuted in distinct articles, or to afford him such redress as the House might judge suitable and proper. The petition was strongly resisted by Mr. Burke and his friends; but it received the cordial support of Mr. Pitt, as far as regarded the business of Nundcomar. After a long debate the House of Commons resolved, "that no authority has been given by the House, for the purpose of making any criminal charge respecting Nundcomar, and that the words complained of ought not to have been spoken." A resolution of censure was afterwards moved upon Mr. Burke by the Marquis of Graham, and voted by a majority of 135 against 66.

An important operation of finance took place in

the course of the session, in the exchange of the heavy duties on tobacco from the customs to the excise, which was effected without much opposition. It is worthy of observation, as characteristic of the inconstancy of public opinion, that this measure, which had nearly cost Sir Robert Walpole his place, and even endangered his life, and against which 200 members of the House of Commons divided on the original motion of the minister, was now opposed, on the third reading of the bill, by 20 voices only, in a thin House of 90 members.

Mr. Grenville, speaker of the House of Commons, having been advanced, upon the resignation of Lord Sydney, to the office of secretary of state, and subsequently to the peerage, was succeeded by Henry Addington, Esq. who soon acquired great reputation for dignity, integrity, and impartiality, in the discharge of his office. The Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August, by a speech from the lord-chancellor, in the name of the Sovereign, in which it was observed, that, although the good offices of the King and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of general tranquillity, the situation of affairs promised to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace. The recent events which had taken place in the different nations of Europe rendered an assurance like this, at such an eventful period, peculiarly grateful. A war had been kindled, which gradually spread from the Euxine to the Baltic; from the snow-clad mountains of Norway to the arid wastes of Tartary: and the foundation of a great and stupendous revolution had been laid, which, by a sudden and almost miraculous expansion, became at once an object of admiration and terror to a gazing and astonished world.

CHAPTER XVI.

Commencement of the French revolution—Public opinion in England thereon—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on French affairs—Dissenters again defeated—Motion for reform—East India affairs—Hastings's trial—Slave trade—Dispute with Spain respecting Nootka Sound—Vote of Credit—Session closed—Adjustment with Spain—War in India—Writings of Burke and Paine—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on the treaty with Spain—Ways and means—Question respecting impeachment—Close of the charges against Warren Hastings—Bill to relieve Catholics—Mr. Fox's libel bill—Slave trade—Bill for the government of Canada—Quarrel between Burke and Fox—Message respecting war with Russia—Colony established at Sierra Leone—Close of session—Affairs of France—Riots at Birmingham—Revolution societies.

THE French revolution, an event in comparison with which all the revolutions of states and empires recorded in the annals of History are insignificant, was at this period in full activity; and, although the details of the circumstances which led to this great occurrence must be sought in the History of France, it has in such an especial manner influenced the state of these kingdoms, that some notice of it is absolutely necessary. Human affairs are generally gradual in their progress from infancy to perfect maturity, but the revolution in France resembled the shock of an earthquake or the eruption of a volcano; nothing could resist its impetuosity.

The disputes which had subsisted between the King and the Parliaments, during the latter part of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, appeared to ter-

minate on the accession of his grandson, into whose hands the reins of government fell at the early age of twenty, and whose first acts were highly popular; but, although he had all the virtues of private life, he had none of the talents necessary in situations of difficulty. From various causes, among which the impolitic interference of the French government in the dispute between Great Britain and her American colonies may be more particularly mentioned, the finances of France fell into a state of the most serious embarrassment; and such was their deplorable condition, in 1788, that only part of the demands on the treasury were paid in cash, the remainder being liquidated by means of bills due at the end of the year. The appearance of a partial bankruptcy was only avoided by a royal edict, enjoining all bankers, and others, to receive the paper of the *caisse d'escompte* as money. In addition to this, a scarcity was threatened, and many of the people were actually perishing for want of bread: the notion therefore became prevalent that the States General alone could rescue the nation from impending ruin, and on the entreaty of M. Necker, the celebrated banker of Geneva, who more than any other man possessed the confidence of the French nation, and who had been recalled to the office of minister of finance, which he had held previously to M. de Calonne, who now resigned, his Majesty consented to their convocation. On the 27th of December an order of council was procured, declaring that the deputies to the States General should amount to at least 1000; that the number sent by each bailiwick should be in a ratio compounded of its population and taxes; and, lastly, that the members of the third should be equal to the joint amount of the other two estates, the nobles and the clergy. At length, the States General, the disuse of which ever since the year 1614 sufficiently proved

the aversion with which they were regarded by the princes and ministers who had succeeded, assembled at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789. After a long ceremonial, the King, with the Queen and the Princes and Princesses of the blood around him, delivered a discourse to the assembly, in which he expressed his hope that the convocation of the States General would communicate new vigour to the nation, re-establish public credit, and open additional sources of happiness. M. Necker directed the attention of the assembly principally to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged, but stated the actual deficit not to exceed 56,000,000 of French livres. The first business of the assembly was the verification of the powers of the members, on which subject differences immediately arose, the third estate insisting that it should be done in a common assembly of the three orders, whereas the nobles and clergy adhered to the ancient practice of each verifying in its own house. This dispute was rendered important from the plan annexed to it by the democratic party, of voting by *poll*, and not by *orders*, which would clearly give the third estate the preponderance, since their number was equal to the other two conjoined, and they might expect adherents from both. The nobles were resolute, and formed their separate house; the clergy wavered; and, after an inaction of six weeks, the third estate, being joined by a few of the clergy, and feeling themselves strong in the public opinion, declared themselves the legislative body, and assumed the title of the *National Assembly*. Their first act was to declare all the imposts illegal, because they had not been consented to by the nation. They, however, re-enacted them instantly, in the name of their constituents, declaring that they ceased on the very day on which the present assembly should be dissolved. All future proceed-

ings were prevented in consequence of a step on the part of the King, who, on the 20th of June, declared, by a herald at arms, that the debates of the assembly were suspended, and that it was his Majesty's intention to hold a royal session on the 22d. The members of the assembly, thus finding themselves excluded from the national hall by a guard of soldiers, now assembled in the tennis-court at Versailles, and, as though actuated by one general impulse, all the deputies arose, and took an oath never to separate until the constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France accomplished. The three orders were assembled by the King's command, in royal session, on the 23d of June, when, after lamenting the disputes which had taken place, his Majesty insisted on maintaining the distinction of orders, and annulled the celebrated decree, by which the Commons had declared themselves the national assembly. He, at the same time, alluded to the benefits which he was preparing to confer on his people; but nothing positive was said relative to the liberty of the press, or the participation of the States General in the enactment of laws; on the other hand, he hinted at the retention of the most unpopular of all the prerogatives claimed by the crown—that of *lettres de cachet*, subject, however, to certain restrictions; and the continuance of the tyrannical privileges arising out of the feudal system. The sittings of the assembly having been continued, an union of the orders took place, and, on the 27th, forty-seven of the nobles, headed by the Duke of Orleans, repaired to the hall of the states, and at the express recommendation of the King, whose intentions were as good as his conduct was imbecile, the minority of the clergy and the majority of the nobles followed their example.

Notwithstanding these appearances of cordiality, orders had been for some time issued by the court to

collect a large body of troops ; and, as the French troops could not now be depended on, foreigners were employed ; a formidable train of artillery was provided ; the commanding eminences were crowned with batteries ; and the Marshal de Broglie was nominated to the chief command. The capital, ever jealous of the court, and alarmed at these formidable preparations, was now greatly agitated ; the people assembled in prodigious multitudes in the gardens of the Palais Royal ; and a large body of the soldiery began to make common cause with the inhabitants.

On the 11th of July Necker was suddenly deprived of his office, and sent into exile ; and a new administration was formed, all the members of which were considered as the decided advocates of the ancient regime. The intelligence of this event excited a furious commotion in the capital ; and an attempt to disperse the populace by means of a foreign regiment having been defeated, the citizens armed, and were joined by the French guards. An extraordinary circumstance occurred at this moment, which tended not a little to produce and accelerate the catastrophe which ensued. Twenty thousand men of different nations, who had been employed in cutting roads over Montmartre, but who were now without bread and without occupation, threatened to plunder the capital, which was itself rapidly approaching to a state of famine. These banditti had already approached to the suburbs, and, after burning the outlet called the White Barriers, began to enter several houses.—To meet this emergency, it was resolved to form a city militia, and the citizens ran in crowds to inscribe their names as the defenders of their country. Arms being still wanting, upwards of 30,000 men ran to the hospital of the invalids, seized on the artillery, and obtained possession of about 50,000 muskets, sabres, and pikes,

which had been concealed there. The citizens were immediately marshalled, and more than 60,000 enrolled and distributed into companies; patrols were established in every district; the sergeants and grenadiers of the French guards were appointed officers; cannon were immediately posted on the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, and in all the avenues leading to Versailles; while the Place Dauphine was provided with a numerous artillery, and became the head-quarters of the insurgent army.

On the 14th of July the idea was suddenly conceived of attacking the Bastile, or state-prison, and M. de Launay, the governor, was summoned to surrender. After an assault of two hours, in which many lives were lost on both sides, the Bastile, though deemed impregnable, was carried by storm. The lives lost by the assailants were revenged by the massacre of the governor, M. de Launay, and several others, whose heads were carried about the streets upon poles; and that sanguinary spirit was fully imbibed which characterized the whole revolutionary period. On the capture of the Bastile it remained to release those victims of tyranny, with which this horrible den of despotism was always said to be crowded; but what was the surprise and disappointment of the insurgents, when, on forcing their way into the towers, in which the prisoners were confined, they found only seven persons, four of whom were committed on a charge of forgery; one was confined, at the request of his family, for offences not known, but stated to be of the most serious nature; and two were mad!

Astonished and intimidated at these proceedings, the King, with that disregard of personal danger which he displayed through the most trying scenes, appeared in person the next day in the National Assembly, and declared that he had issued orders

for the immediate removal of the troops. A burst of joy and acclamation succeeded; M. Necker was almost immediately recalled and reinstated in his office; the Count d'Artois, Marshal Broglio, the Prince of Conde, and others of the noblesse, were compelled to seek for safety in flight; and on the 17th of July the King made his triumphal entry into Paris.

The Assembly now proceeded without interruption in their labours, and passed several decrees pronouncing the annihilation of all feudal privileges; the abolition of all distinction of orders; the resumption of tithes, and other ecclesiastical and monastic property; the dissolution of monastic institutions; the allotment of the kingdom into a new territorial division, under the name of departments, eighty-three in number, nearly equal in population and extent; the extinction of the provincial parliaments, and the establishment of departmental assemblies, of courts of justice, and the trial by jury, in each department. The projected frame of government was a limited hereditary monarchy, in which the legislative authority was rendered superior to the executive, the latter being only allowed a suspensive veto. The person of the King was declared inviolable, and the throne indivisible. The decrees having been sent to the King with a requisition for their promulgation, a letter was received from him, objecting to certain articles; but on its being represented that those observations would come properly under consideration when it should be proposed to reduce them into the form of laws, the King, on the 20th of September, sanctioned the decrees.

The derangement of the finances seemed now the only obstacle to the restoration of tranquillity; but such were the necessities of the state, that their regulation was a work of no ordinary difficulty. In

the mean time suspicions were entertained among the people, relative to the sincerity of the higher orders in the sacrifices they had concurred in, and it was also rumoured and believed that preparations were in train to facilitate the retreat of the King to Metz, in Lorraine, where the royal standard was to be raised in hostile opposition to the National Assembly. Under the influence of these suspicions, and the distress arising from a scarcity of bread, a fresh insurrection broke out at Paris, and a mob of both sexes, escorted by some armed men, proceeded to Versailles, and attacked the palace on the 6th of October. Amidst massacre and plunder the royal family were brought into great danger of their lives, but were rescued by the National Guard; and the King and Queen, conducted by the Marquis de la Fayette, who had been made commander of that corps, were brought to Paris, and placed in the Thuilleries under guard. This triumph of the popular party occasioned a new change in the constitution by the National Assembly, to whose will no opposition appeared, the King unconditionally acceding to almost every thing which they chose to establish. The country was, however, still far from tranquil. The seizure of the church property, though a measure which passed with little opposition at Paris, excited serious commotions in several of the provinces, where a zealous attachment to the ancient religion yet continued.

A decree which passed the Assembly in June, 1790, excited, more perhaps than any thing that had yet been done, the hostility of the superior classes throughout Europe: it was for the abolition of all hereditary titles, orders, armorial bearings, and other marks of the distinction of ranks in society. When it is considered how fondly, even in the most enlightened countries, men are attached to honours which elevate them above the mass of their fellow-

citizens, the indignation excited by such an example of levelling may readily be conceived. That all men have equal rights is an undeniable fact. Every individual possesses the right of private judgment, of vindicating his innocence when unjustly accused, and to such a portion of the productions of the earth as his own industry can acquire ; but equality of rank or property is most grossly absurd, and as utterly impossible as equality of talents. Place all mankind on a level this moment, and they will not continue so for any length of time, because superior talents must very soon acquire the ascendancy. The importance of great abilities, either for deliberation or execution, must quickly be perceived, and their possessors rewarded according to their value. Men *may* be placed upon a level, but you can no more make them continue in that state than you can separate heat from fire, or weight from lead.

On the minds of the people of England the impression made by the passing events in France was various. The general opinion, however, was highly favourable to the Revolution ; and even its most criminal excesses, seen through a distorting medium, were viewed by the multitude with a favourable aspect. Nor was this at all strange. Attachment to the British constitution naturally generates an abhorrence of despotism, under every possible form and shape ; and to this principle may, probably, be attributed the praise which many men, of superior intellects, bestowed on what they considered the efforts of the French nation to shake off the shackles of tyranny, and to establish a new government, on the basis of civil liberty. But such men must have contemplated the Revolution in the abstract, and have looked to remote consequences, which their ardent imagination represented to them as certain, without descending

to any minuteness of inquiry into the motives in which it originated, the means by which it was accomplished, or the effects which it had actually produced. But while the love of freedom led many, certainly without due consideration, to admire the French Revolution, the admiration of others flowed from a very different source—from a revolutionary ardour, and a fondness for innovation, which led them to look on all resistance to power as commendable, to confound revolt with liberty, and to convert conspirators into patriots. Amidst this general predilection for the new politics of France, there were some few who viewed them with horror; who considered the principles broached by the leading members of the National Assembly, and adopted by the majority, as striking at the very root of society; and who foresaw that those proceedings, instead of producing such a change in the condition of the French people as every friend to rational and well-regulated freedom must desire, would bring forth the most calamitous consequences, and terminate either in popular anarchy or in the establishment of unqualified despotism. Amongst its most ardent admirers was an assemblage of persons, who had associated themselves for the purpose of commemorating the British Revolution of 1688, of which Lord Stanhope was president. On the occasion of the anniversary meeting in November, 1789, one of its most distinguished members, Dr. Price, a dissenting minister, equally eminent for his talents and his zeal, strongly declared his admiration of the new principles which had been promulgated at Paris and Versailles; and the committee resolved to congratulate the members of the Society on the glorious success of the French Revolution, and to express their ardent wishes “that the influence of so glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny

and despotism shall be swept from the face of the globe." The Doctor moved an address to the National Assembly of France, in which the Society offered to that assembly their congratulations on the revolution in that country, and on the prospect it gave to the two first kingdoms in the world of a common participation in the blessings of civil and religious liberty. They expressed the particular satisfaction with which they reflected on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert the unalienable rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the world free and happy. The resolution of this club was accordingly transmitted to the National Assembly, whose president duly acknowledged the honour conferred upon them.

At the time that public opinion took this direction, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues remained perfectly quiescent, and contented themselves with a renewal of their assurances of continued amity with France, without expressing either approbation or disapprobation of the measures of internal policy which the government, or rather the National Assembly, had thought proper to adopt.

Such was the state of affairs when the British Parliament, elected in 1784, assembled for its last session on the 21st of January, 1790. The King's speech contained nothing remarkable. It slightly glanced at the affairs of France, in declaring that the internal situation of the different parts of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his Majesty's most serious attention. Early indications, however, appeared of the light in which the recent transactions in that kingdom were viewed by the English government. Lord Valletort, in moving the address, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with

the anarchy and licentiousness of France, and to denounce the revolution in that kingdom as an event the most disastrous, and productive of consequences the most fatal, which had ever taken place since the foundation of that monarchy.

Soon afterwards, upon the debate which took place on the army estimates, Mr. Burke observed, that, on a review of Europe, he did not find that we stood in the smallest danger from any one state or kingdom it contained; nor that any foreign powers, but our own allies, were likely to obtain a preponderance in the scale. France, said he, has hitherto been our first object in all considerations concerning the balance of power: but France is, in a political light, to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. Whether she could ever appear in it again, as a leading power, was not easy to determine: but at present he considered France as not politically existing: and most assuredly it would take much time to restore her to her former active existence. It was said, as she had speedily fallen, she might speedily rise again. He doubted this. The fall from a height was with an accelerated velocity; but to lift a weight up to that height again was difficult, and opposed by the laws of physical and political gravitation. In a political view France was low indeed; she had lost every thing, even to her name. He was astonished at it; he was alarmed at it. He trembled at the uncertainty of all human greatness. The French had shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had completely pulled down to the ground their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to lie prostrate at our feet, we should blush to impose upon them terms so destructive to all their consequence as

a nation as the durance they had imposed upon themselves. In the last age we were in danger of being entangled, by the example of France, in the net of a relentless despotism—a despotism, indeed, proudly arrayed in manners, gallantry, splendour, magnificence, and even covered over with the imposing robes of science and literature. Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the excesses of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy—of a people whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism. They had made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy, called ‘A Declaration of the Rights of Man:’ thus systematically destroying every hold of authority by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. By this mad declaration they had subverted the state, and brought on such calamities as no country, without a long war, had ever been known to suffer. He felt some concern that this strange thing, called a Revolution in France, should be compared with the glorious event commonly called the Revolution in England. In truth, the circumstances of our Revolution, as it was called, and that of France, were just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was, in truth and substance, not a revolution made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the same ranks, the same subordinations, the same franchises, the same order in

the law, the revenue, and the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The church was not impaired: her estates, her majesty, her splendour, her orders and gradations, continued the same: she was preserved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakness and disgrace. Was little done, then, because a revolution was not made in the constitution? No—every thing was done; because we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. Instead of lying in a sort of epileptic trance, exposed to the pity or derision of the world for her wild, ridiculous, convulsive movements, the state flourished; Great Britain rose above the standard of her former self. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new æra of prosperity commenced, which still continued, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the wasting hand of time.

Mr. Fox warmly expressed his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whose precepts he had been taught—by whose example he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army, in refusing to act against their fellow-citizens, from the aspersions of Mr. Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition by mutiny and desertion, declaring that, if he could view a standing military force with less constitutional jealousy than before, it was owing to the noble spirit manifested by the French army, who, on becoming soldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere instruments of a despot. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty that had been acted in France no man

could hear of without lamenting ; but when the grievous tyranny that the people had so long groaned under was considered, the excesses they had committed in their efforts to shake off the yoke could not excite our astonishment so much as our regret. And as to the contrast which Mr. Burke had exhibited, respecting the mode in which the two revolutions in England and France were conducted, it must be remembered that the situation of the two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a free constitution was to be created : in England it wanted only to be secured. If the fabric of government in England suffered less alteration, it was because it required less alteration. If a general destruction of the ancient constitution had taken place in France, it was because the whole system was radically hostile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful spirit of despotism. Mr. Sheridan pronounced the French Revolution to be as just as our own, proceeding upon as sound a principle, and a greater provocation ;—and he vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the National Assembly. He charged Mr. Burke with an unwarrantable liberty of speech respecting that Assembly ; and with having libelled those illustrious characters, M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette. Mr. Pitt, without entering into the merits of the Revolution, warmly applauded Mr. Burke for the zealous and seasonable attachment which he had displayed to the principles of the British constitution.

Since the decision of the last session relative to the repeal of the test laws, the dissenters had not ceased their efforts to increase the number of their friends in the House of Commons ; and, in contemplation of the approaching general election, they had even recommended a preference in favour of those who had shown themselves the friends and

advocates of what they termed equal and universal liberty. Instead of Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Fox was now solicited to move the House a third time for the repeal of the acts in question; to which he readily assented. The nation at large were now led to believe this to be a matter of high and serious import; and counter meetings of the friends of the church were called, in which the repeal of the test was deprecated as fatal to its security. On the 2d of March Mr. Fox brought forward his motion of repeal, which he supported with wonderful ability. The decision of the House, however, was less favourable than on the former occasion; the motion being negatived by 294 against 105.

Mr. Flood, the Irish orator, who had sat some years almost undistinguished in the British Parliament, now brought forward a plan of parliamentary reform, in conformity to which an additional number of representatives, to the amount of 100, was to be admitted into the legislative body, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the resident householders only. This motion was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, member for Norwich, the professed admirer of Mr. Burke; and by Mr. Pitt, who declared that, were the motion before them the precise proposition he himself had formerly offered, he should now vote against it from a conviction of its actual impropriety. But at a more seasonable opportunity he would most certainly again submit his ideas upon the subject to the consideration of the House. The motion was at length withdrawn.

Mr. Dundas brought forward, on the 31st of March, his annual statement of the debts and revenues of the East India Company, and described their situation to be in the highest degree prosperous and flourishing. Through the wise and equitable administration of Lord Cornwallis, the

revenues of Bengal had been advanced, during the last year, without the aid of any new imposition, from 1,800,000*l.* to 2,150,000*l.* His lordship, on his accession to the high office of governor-general, had stated the situation of the provinces as most wretched and deplorable. In his despatch to the court of directors, dated August the 2d, 1789, he says, "Independent of all other considerations, it will be of the utmost importance for promoting the solid interests of the company that the principal landholders and traders, in the interior parts of the country, should be restored to such circumstances as to enable them to support their families with decency, according to the customs of the several casts and religions. I am sorry to be obliged to say, that agriculture and internal commerce have for many years been gradually declining ; and that at present, excepting the class of Shroffs and Banians, who reside almost entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of these provinces were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness. In this description I must include almost every zemindar in the company's territories." And in his council minute of the 18th of September, 1789, his lordship writes, "I can safely assert, that one-third of the company's territory is now a jungle inhabited by wild beasts!" One of the first and most important measures of the new governor-general was to lease the lands in perpetuity, at an equal valuation, to the actual occupants ; and, in alluding to this part of his conduct, his lordship thus forcibly expresses himself to the directors : "The security of property, and the certainty which each individual will *now* feel of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his labours, must operate uniformly as incitements to labour and industry." This description cannot be construed into an encomium on the character of his predecessor, but appears very strongly to justify

his accusers in the heavy charges advanced against his government.

The session of Parliament was already drawing to its close, when, on the 11th of May, Mr. Burke offered a motion to the consideration of the House, relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings, which had now continued for three years ; a circumstance unprecedented in any criminal prosecution. This delay was partly owing to the nature of the subject, the distance at which the transactions had taken place, the difficulty in such a case of establishing facts by regular evidence, and the articles of impeachment, comprehending the public administration of India for a series of years. But these considerations were still insufficient to justify the extraordinary length of time already occupied in the trial, and the resentment originally awakened against the accused had gradually subsided into compassion for the man, whom the public now looked upon as the object of an endless persecution. It was scarcely possible to form any just opinion of a cause, the real merits of which were obscured in the immensity of the detail ; and therefore, whether the guilt or innocence of the accused should be ultimately established, the prosecution was almost certain to fail in effecting the great and exemplary ends of substantial justice. During the last session the court sat only thirteen days on the trial ; and as the managers had no authority to regulate the sittings of the Lords, they possessed but little power to facilitate the progress of the business : to put the trial, however, in such a train as to insure its conclusion in a reasonable time, Mr. Burke now moved, “ that the House do authorize the managers to insist only upon such and so many of the charges as may appear to them conducive to the obtaining speedy and effectual justice ;” which was agreed to.

The abolition of the slave trade advanced very

slowly; every mode of procrastination was resorted to on the part of the slave merchants and planters, and the whole session passed over in the hearing of evidence and examination of witnesses. This mode of conducting the inquiry afforded to the supporters of the traffic abundant leisure to recruit their strength; an advantage of which they so successfully availed themselves, that, upon the revival of Sir William Dolben's bill for limiting the number of slaves to be transported in each slave-ship, they ventured to propose, as an amendment, to increase the number of slaves in proportion to the tonnage of ships, without regarding the extent of their superficies. This proposition, which destroyed the humane regulations of the bill, was carried, in the first instance, by a majority of five; such, however, was the alarm excited by this unexpected decision, that the amendment was rejected upon the report on the following day by a full House.

In the month of April Mr. Pitt presented his statement of the national revenue and expenditure; from which it appeared that the receipt of the exchequer had surpassed that of the year preceding in the sum of 500,000*l*. About a fortnight afterwards, however, (May the 5th,) a royal message was delivered by the minister, announcing circumstances which indicated the approach of war. It appears that the celebrated Captain Cook, in his last voyage of discovery, touching at several ports on the western coast of North America, purchased from the natives a number of valuable furs, bearing a high price in the Chinese market. To encourage this branch of commerce, a spot of ground was, in 1788, procured from the Indians, and a regular establishment, defended by a slight fortification, formed at a place called Nootka Sound, situated about the 50th degree of north latitude. This was regarded by the Spaniards as an encroachment on their ex-

clusive rights of sovereignty ; and, consequently, the *Princessa*, a Spanish frigate, despatched for this purpose by the Viceroy of Mexico, in the following spring, seized upon the fort, and captured the English vessels, *Iphigenia* and *Argonaut*, trading on the coast. The Spanish commandant, hoisting the national standard, declared that the whole line of coast from Cape Horn to the 60th degree of north latitude belonged to the King of Spain. After much delay, and loss and vexation to the proprietors, the captured vessels were, however, restored by the viceroy, on the assumption that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the merchants in question to attempt an establishment on that coast. Of these particulars the court of London had been regularly informed, by the Spanish ambassador, so long ago as the 10th of February ; and his excellency at the same time requested that measures might be taken for preventing his Britannic Majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, and from carrying on their fisheries in the seas contiguous to the Spanish continent, as derogatory to the incontestable rights of the crown of Spain. The claims of Spain, in relation to her right of dominion and sovereignty in America, were in the highest degree chimerical : Charles the Third, however, had died in December, 1788, and his son Charles the Fourth, the succeeding sovereign of Spain, confiding in the justice of his claims, offered to submit the decision to any one of the kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic Majesty. The reply of the court of London to the memorial of the Spanish ambassador is said to have been unnecessarily haughty ; and an atonement was demanded for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain.

On the statement of the case in the royal message, the House of Commons unanimously voted an

address to the King, assuring his Majesty of their determination to afford the most zealous and affectionate support in such measures as might become requisite for maintaining the dignity of the crown, and the essential interests of his dominions. A vote of credit also passed the House for the sum of 1,000,000*l.*; and vigorous military and naval preparations were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate declaration of war.

The session closed on the 10th of June; and, on the 11th, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

Unable to contend alone with England, Spain had, in an early stage of the negotiation, applied to France for aid; but, finding her unwilling to interfere, she complied with the British demand of previous restitution and indemnification; and, on the 2d of October, a convention was signed at the Escorial, by which every point in dispute was conceded by Spain. The settlement at Nootka was restored; the free navigation and right of fishery in the Southern Pacific were confirmed to Britain; a full liberty of trade, and even of settlement, was granted to all the north-west coasts of America, beyond the most northerly of the Spanish settlements, unaccompanied, however, by any formal renunciation of their right of sovereignty; and the two powers were, on the other hand, equally restrained from attempting any settlement nearer to Cape Horn than the most southerly of the settlements actually formed by Spain. An article was also inserted in this treaty: "That in all future cases of complaint, or supposed infraction of the present convention, no act of violence shall be committed, but an exact report shall be made of the affair to the respective courts, who will terminate such difference amicably."

But though Great Britain was thus happily res-

cued from the horrors of war in this quarter of the globe, our Indian possessions were, at the same time, involved in a state of hostility. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo Sultan, the son and successor of Hyder Ally, was the most formidable to the British government, and the most active to disturb its authority, and counteract its interests. The peace of Mangalore in 1784 had, it was supposed, secured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the splendid embassy which soon after that event he despatched to France afforded just reason to suspect that some plan was concerted between the French government and the tyrant of Mysore, for the annoyance of the British settlements in India. The increasing power of Tippoo was not less formidable to the Dutch than to the English; and the vicinity of Cochin, their most flourishing settlement on the continent of India, to the territories of that restless despot, filled them with alarming apprehensions for its safety. But the Dutch, fully sensible of the perilous situation of Cochin, had got possession of two other forts, situated between that place and Mysore, to protect their favourite settlement. One of these forts, called Cranganore, was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch, who retained quiet possession of it till some time in the year 1779, when it was conquered by Hyder Ally, and garrisoned. When the war, however, broke out in 1780, between Hyder and the English, he was obliged to evacuate his garrisons on the Malabar coast, to employ his force in the Carnatic; and Holland and France soon after uniting with him against England, the Dutch availed themselves of Hyder's troubles to seize clandestinely the fort. Hyder was highly offended at the liberty taken by his good ally, and complained loudly of the transaction; but, by the mediation of the French, a compromise took place. The forts of Cranganore and

Acottah were, however, still objects of Tippoo's ambition ; and, notwithstanding his father had ceded the former by agreement to the Dutch, he marched a formidable force, in June, 1789, towards Cranganore, with an avowed design of dispossessing them, and asserting a claim of right, founded on the transactions just related. Unable to retain the forts, and apprehensive for the fate of Cochin itself, the Dutch entered into a negotiation with the Rajah of Travancore for the purchase of them. Tippoo, on being informed of this circumstance, offered a larger sum than the Rajah ; but as the latter was the ally of Great Britain, who was consequently bound by treaty to assist him, that politic people plainly perceived that, by placing them in his hands, they erected a most powerful barrier against the encroachments of a turbulent and ambitious neighbour. The imprudence of the Rajah in entering upon such a purchase, while the title was disputed, drew down upon him the heaviest censures from the government of Madras ; and he was repeatedly cautioned against proceeding in the negotiation. The Rajah, however, not only concluded the purchase with the Dutch, but even treated with the Rajah of Cochin, without the privity of Tippoo, to whom the latter was an acknowledged tributary. It was not to be expected that Tippoo would remain an idle spectator of these transactions. He insisted on the claim which he retained over these forts, on the ground of their being conquered by his father ; and, in consequence of the subsequent compromise, he asserted, with some plausibility, that, in virtue of the feudal laws, no transfer of them could be made without his consent as Sovereign of Mysore. Accordingly, on the 29th of December, 1789, Tippoo made a direct attack upon the lines of Travancore ; but, receiving a remonstrance from the British government of Fort St. George, he desisted from

further hostilities, and even apologized for his recent conduct, by affirming that the attack was occasioned by the Rajah's people having first fired on his troops ; that, notwithstanding this, he immediately ordered his troops to discontinue the attack, and sent back the people whom they had captured. From the 29th of December to the 1st of March, 1790, Tippoo Sultan remained perfectly quiet ; still, however, asserting his claims to the feudal sovereignty of the forts, but at the same time offering to submit the object in dispute to the decision of any impartial arbitration. The Rajah, who appears all along confident of being supported by the British arms, ventured on the 1st of March to make an offensive attack on Tippoo's lines. For this extraordinary step, the Rajah alleged, in excuse, the hostile preparations of Tippoo in the erection of batteries, &c. An engagement took place ; and war being thus commenced, the British government conceived themselves bound to take an active part in favour of the Rajah, their ally. Though the justice of the war may be fairly questioned, yet, as the favourite object of the English had long been the humbling of Tippoo, it must be confessed there was at least much policy in selecting the present period for the accomplishment of such a purpose. With all the other native powers of India we were not only at peace, but treaties of alliance existed between Great Britain and the two most powerful states in that quarter, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, both of whom declared themselves in perfect readiness to exert their utmost force to crush the rising power of Mysore. Unfortunately for Tippoo, while he was thus exposed to the vengeance of a powerful confederacy, the distracted state of France cut off all hopes of assistance from his once great and formidable ally.

This summer was rendered remarkable from the

heat of political controversy, occasioned by the principles of the French revolution. The anniversary of that event, dated from the fall of the Bastile, July the 14th, having been celebrated with great triumph in several parts of the kingdom, by the zealous friends of those popular rights which it asserted, Mr. Burke soon after published his celebrated work, entitled "Reflections on the French Revolution," in which he had employed all the undiminished powers of his wit, eloquence, and reasoning, to expose to the public resentment and indignation those persons who had in this country manifested their approbation of the revolution in France; and to place that revolution itself in an odious light, as an event to be deplored, detested, and deprecated. In an appendix, he invited and exhorted all Christian princes to make "a common cause with a just prince, dethroned by rebels and traitors." The deluded people of France, to be rescued from the evils which they had brought upon themselves, must, as he affirmed, be subdued; and he recommended that this war, or crusade, should be conducted on principles different from any former one. The members of the Revolution Society, and the other commemorators of the French Revolution, he strongly inveighed against; and he charged Dr. Price in particular with having fulminated, in his revolution sermon, principles little short of treason and rebellion. This extraordinary production gave rise to numberless replies, of which the most memorable was "The Rights of Man," written by Thomas Paine. Not content with pointing out what he regarded as the misrepresentations of Mr. Burke, and the abuses and corruptions of the existing government, he daringly attacked the principles of the constitution itself, indecently describing it as radically vicious and tyrannical; and reprobating the introduction of

aristocracy or monarchy, under whatever modifications, into any form of government, as a flagrant usurpation and invasion of "the unalienable rights of man." This tract unfortunately appeared at a time when a large proportion of the community were in a state of great irritation and discontent; and, as it was written in a popular style and manner, innumerable converts were made to its system, and infinite pains were taken to circulate it amongst the body of the people. Political institutions were also formed in every part of the kingdom, professing to have in view the reform of the constitution, but which, with too much reason, were suspected really to aim at its subversion.

On opening the new Parliament, which assembled on the 25th of November, 1790, the King expressed his satisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable termination; and observed, that, since the last session of Parliament, a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte—that a separate peace had actually taken place between Russia and Sweden, but that the war between Russia and the Porte still continued. He observed, with concern, the war in India, occasioned by an unprovoked attack on an ally of the British nation; but which, from the state of our forces in India, and the confidence which the native powers had in the British name, there was a favourable prospect of bringing to a speedy and successful conclusion.

On the 3d of December the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the House a copy of the convention with Spain, the terms of which were ratified in both Houses by great majorities, but not unanimously; for the documents relative to the negotiation being partly withheld, Mr. Grey moved for the production of such papers as contained the requisitions made by ministers to the court of Spain;

declaring that it was utterly impossible to decide upon the policy of the late measures without sufficient documents, as the House could not at present determine whether we might not have gained all the boasted advantages of the convention at a much less expense than had been incurred; or whether the late disputes were owing to the restless ambition and unjust claims of Spain, or to the rashness, presumption, and ignorance of his Majesty's ministers. Mr. Fox affirmed, that, by this convention, our rights were greatly curtailed: the treaty, he said, was a treaty of concessions instead of acquisitions; and we had given up what was of infinite value to Spain, and retained what could never be of much to ourselves. In the House of Lords, the convention was reprobated by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who, in a speech replete with diplomatic information, took an extensive review of the politics of Europe from the peace of 1782. The basis of our politics at that period was, he said, a permanent pacific system for Europe. This principle we had pursued with respect to France, in extinguishing all false ideas of rivalry, in leaving nothing undefined, nothing to commissaries, nothing to foreign interference. With respect to Spain, the view was to give the most of what was conceded to the weakest power; and this was done with the more propriety, as American possessions were no longer the same object with England as formerly. As to Holland, the design was to stipulate in favour of the general freedom and extension of trade, and to counteract the spirit of commercial monopoly which had long distinguished that power. In pursuance of this system of politics, the commercial treaty with France had been concluded, as well as the convention with Spain respecting the Spanish American Main in 1786. At this period the King of Prussia died, and then commenced an entire

new system of English politics. France was again held out as our natural enemy. Every court was to tremble at the name of Britain. Holland was obliged by force, and not upon principle, to return to our alliance. The Turks and Swedes were put in motion to murder the Russians. Denmark was forbidden to interfere, and more work was found for the Emperor in the Belgic provinces. To crown the whole, the British triumph was at last to terminate in Nootka Sound. A few adventurers and men of letters had fitted out ships with fine names; and, under Portuguese colours and papers, prepared to break through a system regarding Spanish America, which had been sanctioned by the policy of Europe for more than 200 years. In conclusion, we arm in a manner the most insulting, and summon Spain in terms equally unprecedented. Such was the present system, but we had not even pursued that with consistency and ability. We had neither secured France, nor Spain, nor any other power. By the convention, the fishery was defined to our disadvantage, being limited to ten leagues from the shore. As to the right of trading, that was asserted even in the time of Elizabeth, by the treaty of 1670, and afterwards acknowledged in 1749. But this proceeding at Nootka endangered the whole advantages of our commercial treaty with Spain. We were doing the work of other nations, and North America in particular. He should vote, his lordship said, for the previous question, to show the Spaniards the true temper of the nation, that we were not restless or insolent, as our enemies represent us; to preserve our reputation in Europe; and to deter future ministers from a similar proceeding.

On the 15th of December Mr. Pitt stated the whole amount of the expenses incurred by the armament to be 2,821,000*l*. From this, however, he said that 200,000*l*. might be deducted for naval

stores on hand; but this he should avoid, wishing to have every expenditure occasioned in any degree by the armament stated separately, and separately provided for: upon this principle, he should include the expense of the addition of 6000 seamen at 312,000*l.*, making the sum to be provided for 3,133,000*l.* This addition of debt Mr. Pitt hoped the House, considering the great resources of the country, would meet with energy. He accordingly proposed various temporary taxes, which would discharge the incumbrance in four years—with the assistance of 500,000*l.* which he had it in contemplation to take from the unclaimed dividends lying in the Bank of England, the amount of which he estimated at 660,000*l.* This proposition, which excited alarm in all the great chartered companies, and in the commercial and mercantile world in general, was strongly opposed by Messrs. Fox, Thornton, and Whitbread; and the minister at length consented, by way of compromise, to accept a loan of 500,000*l.* from the Bank, without interest, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of the cashier.

Mr. Burke, on the 17th of December, moved “that the House do resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq.” He then made a second motion, “that an impeachment by this House, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, for high crimes and misdemeanors, is still pending.” From this proposition almost all the lawyers in the House declared their total dissent; and Mr. Erskine, in a very elaborate speech, endeavoured to show that, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament, the impeachment had abated. Upon this great question, in the decision of which the honour, the dignity, and the authority of the House were so

deeply involved, the Speaker delivered his opinion; and, upon an extensive review of facts and precedents, he gave it as his decided judgment that the impeachment was still legally pending. In this opinion Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the most eminent parliamentary authorities on both sides, concurred. After a short interval Mr. Burke, adverting to the perpetual obstructions thrown in the way of this trial by the body of the law, made a third motion, that the managers be instructed to proceed to no other parts of the impeachment, excepting such as relate to contracts, pensions, and allowances, which was carried with slight opposition.

The resolution of the Commons, which decided that an impeachment did not abate by a dissolution of Parliament, was strongly contested in the House of Lords. On a message from the Commons, that they were ready to proceed in their evidence, their lordships appointed a committee to search into precedents, which occasioned a suspension of the business till nearly the conclusion of the session. At length the report being made, Lord Porchester moved, on the 16th of May, 1791, that their lordships now proceed in the trial, which, after considerable opposition, was carried by a decisive majority; and their lordships acquainted the House of Commons, by message, that they were ready to proceed. On the 30th of May, the managers having closed their case, Mr. Hastings requested that a day might be allowed him for stating what he thought of importance respecting the further progress of his trial, and on the 2d of June, the Lords being seated in Westminster-hall, he rose and delivered from writing a speech of considerable length, in which, after expressing a willingness and desire to wave his formal defence to the charges exhibited against him, and to refer himself to their lordships' immediate judgment, he went into a statement of the

substance of those charges, to which he gave brief and clear answers. His summing up was in the following terms :—"To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of their dominion in India, I dare to reply, that they are, and their representatives annually persist in telling them so, the most flourishing of all the states of India—it was I who made them so. The valour of others acquired, I enlarged, and gave shape and consistency to, the dominion which you hold there ; I preserved it ; I sent forth its armies with an effectual, but economical, hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions—to the retrieval of one from degradation and dishonour, and of the other from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation or that of others, not of mine. I won one member of the great Indian confederacy by an act of seasonable restitution : with another I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend : a third I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace. When you cried out for peace, and your cries were heard by those who were the object of it, I resisted this and every other species of counteraction by rising in my demands ; and accomplished a peace, a lasting, and I hope an everlasting one, with one great state ; and I at least afforded the efficient means by which a peace, if not so durable, more seasonable at least, was accomplished with another. I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment."—"There is no object upon earth so near my heart as that of an immediate determination of this tedious prosecution. I am so confident of my own innocence, and have such a perfect reliance upon the honour of your lordships, that I am not afraid to submit to

judgment upon the evidence which has been adduced on the part of the prosecution." The Lords afterwards passed a resolution to proceed further in the trial of Mr. Hastings on the first Tuesday in the next session of Parliament.

The boundaries of religious toleration were this year extended. It is a truth not very flattering to national liberality, that, notwithstanding the boasted freedom of our constitution, no country in Europe has been more jealous of its church establishment. Religious animosity has been in all ages of the Christian church a source of calamity to the human kind; and he who endeavours to point out the absurdity of sacrificing the cardinal virtue of charity at the shrine of vain and presumptuous speculation deserves the thanks of society. A reform in the penal statutes was at this time peculiarly called for, since, in the year 1790, a large body of Catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the Pope, against his assumed authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths. It was upon this principle that Mr. Mitford, the solicitor-general, afterwards Lord Redesdale, moved, on the 21st of February, for a committee of the whole House, to enable him to bring in a bill "to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called Protestant Catholic dissenters, from certain penalties to which Papists are by law subject." Mr. Fox contended for the bill being made general. Let the statute-book, said he, be revised, and strike out all those laws which attach penalties to mere opinions. He reprobated those statutes which condemn every man who worships God in his own way as guilty of treason against the state. The bill passed through both Houses, in its original shape, without a dissenting voice.

Disputes, disgraceful in themselves, and injurious

to the administration of justice, having frequently arisen between the court and the jury, between the judges and the counsel, on trials for libel, Mr. Fox, ever active in the defence of popular rights, moved for a bill to ascertain the authority of juries in such cases. With respect to the pretended distinction between law and fact, he observed, that when a man was accused of murder, a crime consisting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty: and this was also the case in felony and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the single anomaly. He contended that, if the jury had no jurisdiction over libels, the counsel who addressed them on either side, as to the criminality of the publication, were guilty of a gross and insolent sarcasm. It was admitted on all hands, said Mr. Fox, that a writing might be an overt-act of treason. In this case, if the court of King's Bench were to say to the jury, "consider only whether the criminal published the paper—do not consider the nature of it—do not consider whether it correspond to the definition of treason or not"—would Englishmen endure that death should be inflicted, without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments whether the individual was, or was not, guilty of the crime with which he was charged? Mr. Pitt agreed with the principles stated by Mr. Fox, but recommended the bringing in a bill "to remove all doubts respecting the rights and functions of juries in criminal cases." The bill was accordingly introduced, and passed the Commons; but, on its transmission to the Lords, it was opposed, on the second reading, by the lord-chancellor, on pretence of its being too late in the session to discuss a measure of such importance, and the bill was consequently postponed.

Mr. Wilberforce, on the 18th of April, brought forward his long-expected motion for the abolition

of the slave trade, which he introduced with a copious and masterly display of the arguments in favour of that measure. His specific motion was, "for a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies;" but, being supported chiefly by arguments of humanity, and opposed by those of interest, it was negatived by a majority of 75 voices.

A discussion now incidentally arose, the result of which, in a political point of view, was of high importance. At the time that Canada was ceded to this country by France, and became a British colony, the King had promised its inhabitants the benefits of the British constitution. The French settlers in that country, and the native Canadians, had been joined by a considerable number of British subjects, and by royal emigrants from America; and these were most anxious to secure the advantages which the royal promise had held out to their expectations. The ministers had, for some time, directed their attention to the subject, and it was recommended to the immediate notice of Parliament by a message from the King in the present session. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the government of Canada, and he entered into a long and minute detail of every provision which he meant to propose. It was meant to divide the country into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and to establish two distinct governments. The legislature of each province was to consist of a council and house of assembly; the members of the assembly were to be chosen by freeholders possessing landed property to the amount of 40s. a year, or occupiers of houses worth 20l. a year; and the members of the council were to hold their seats for life, with a reservation of a power to the crown, for annexing to certain honours an hereditary right

of sitting in the council. The habeas corpus act was to be rendered a permanent law of the colony. A provision was to be made for the Protestant clergy, by an allotment of lands. Appeals were to be allowed to the privy-council, in the first instance, and from thence to the House of Lords. Great Britain renounced the right of taxation; no taxes were to be imposed but such as were necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce, and these only by the legislature of the country. The bill passed through its first stages without opposition, and almost without debate. It was read a first and second time; it passed the committee, and the report was received by the House, and no disapprobation was shown; but on the second consideration of the report, on the 8th of April, Mr. Fox commenced a warm opposition to the bill. The great object of all popular assemblies, he observed, was, that the people should be fully and fairly represented; but when the assembly of one province was to consist of only sixteen, and the other of thirty persons, they deluded the people by a mockery of representation. They seemed to give them a free constitution, when, in fact, they withheld it; and he hoped it would never be said, that the constitution of Canada was modelled after that of England. That these representatives should be elected for the term of seven years, he reprobated as equally inconsistent with freedom. Even in England, where the frequent return of elections was attended with so much real inconvenience, the propriety of the septennial bill was justly a subject of doubt; but in a country so differently circumstanced, as Canada, there could be no plausible objection to annual, or, at most, triennial, elections. Another strong ground of objection with Mr. Fox was, that the legislative councils were unlimited, as to numbers, by any other restriction than the pleasure of the King, to whom

a power was also reserved of annexing to certain honorary and titular distinctions an hereditary right of sitting in council. As to hereditary honours, or hereditary powers, to say they were good or not, as a general proposition, was difficult; but he saw nothing so good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known. He did not think it wise to destroy them where they existed; but to create them where they did not exist he considered as exceedingly unwise. He could not account for it, unless it was that, Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry which had fallen into so much disgrace in a neighbouring country.

On the re-commitment of the bill, on the 6th of May, Mr. Burke enlarged upon the importance of the act which they were now about to perform. The first consideration, he said, was the competency of the House to such an act. A body of rights, commonly called the Rights of Man, had been lately imported from a neighbouring kingdom. The principle of this new code was, that all men were, by nature, free and equal in respect of their rights. If this code, therefore, were admitted, the power of the House could extend no further than to call together the inhabitants of Canada to choose a constitution for themselves. The practical effects of this system might be seen in St. Domingo and the other French islands. They were flourishing and happy till they heard of the Rights of Man. As soon as this system arrived among them, Pandora's box, replete with every mortal evil, seemed to fly open, hell itself to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overspread the face of the country. Mr. Fox defended his former sentiments respecting the

French Revolution ; and repeated that he thought it, upon the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind. In this assertion, however, he spoke of the revolution, not of the constitution, which still remained to be improved by experience, and accommodated to circumstances. The Rights of Man, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as visionary, were the basis of the British constitution. Our statute-book recognised the original inherent rights of the people as men, which no prescription could supersede, no accident could remove or obliterate. These had once been the principles of his right honourable friend, from whom he had learned them. His right honourable friend had said, with equal energy and emphasis, that he knew not how to draw a bill of indictment against a whole people. Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he could not help rejoicing at the success of a revolution resting upon the same basis with our own—the immutable and unalienable Rights of Man. Mr. Burke rose again, and insisted that the discussion of the Quebec bill was a proper opportunity to put the country on its guard against those dangerous doctrines which prevailed in France, and which had found so many advocates here. He had differed on many occasions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loss of friendship between them. But there was something in the accursed French constitution that envenomed every thing. On hearing this, Mr. Fox immediately exclaimed there was no loss of friendship. Mr. Burke said there was—he knew the price of his conduct ; he had done his duty, and their friendship was at an end. Mr. Fox's feelings were now too powerful for utterance. Involuntary tears were observed to steal down his cheek, whilst a profound and expressive silence pervaded the House. At length, recovering himself, he said

that, however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, for such he must still call him, he could not so easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connexion which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped that Mr. Burke would think on past times; and, whatever expressions of his had caused the offence, that he would at least believe that such was not his intention. The concessions of Mr. Fox are said to have produced no visible impression on Mr. Burke; and from this day a schism took place in the politics of opposition.

On the 28th of March Mr. Pitt delivered a message to the House of Commons from the King, importing, that the endeavours which he had used in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte not having proved successful, his Majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force. When this message was taken into consideration, Mr. Pitt, fully aware of the ambitious views of the Empress Catherine, who had avowed her resolution to interfere in the internal concerns of Poland, and had made no secret of her intention to place the imperial crown on the head of her grandson, Constantine, in the metropolis of the Ottoman empire, enlarged much on the necessity of attending to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. The influence of the Turkish empire, he observed, was of great effect in the general scale. Its present situation was such as to afford just cause of apprehension to other powers; and to Prussia, in particular, it must be highly injurious to suffer the Turkish empire to be diminished in force and consequence. He therefore moved an address, assuring his Majesty that his faithful Commons would make good such expenses as might be found necessary.

This address was opposed by the whole strength and talents of opposition, but it was carried by 228 against 135 voices. On the 12th of April following, Mr. Grey moved a series of resolutions, expressive of the impolicy and inexpediency of a war with Russia on such grounds. The motion was negatived by 259 against 179; but, as a Russian war was evidently an unpopular measure, ministers at length relinquished the point in dispute. Oczakow and its district remained with Russia; and, in the course of the ensuing summer, preliminaries of peace between the two empires were signed at Gralutz, and afterwards ratified at Yassi.

In May a bill was brought into Parliament for the establishment of a colony at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, by way of experiment whether the culture of sugar, and other tropical products, might not be carried on by free negroes; and, notwithstanding a strong opposition by the West India planters, it passed both Houses by a great majority. The session terminated on the 10th of June, when the King expressed his perfect satisfaction at the zeal with which the two Houses had applied themselves to the consideration of the different objects which he had recommended to their attention.

The affairs of France, though unnoticed in the King's speech, at the opening of Parliament, were now in a very critical state. On the evening of the 2d of September, 1790, Necker, whose popularity had long been extinct, having received information from M. de la Fayette that his life was in danger, and that the mob, which had been very riotous during the day, designed to attack his house in the night, fled, in alarm, to his country house, at St. Ouen; and the next day, having sent a farewell letter to the assembly, he left Paris, on his way to Switzerland. In the course of the ensuing month, the King of France communicated to M. Bouillé the

design he had formed of quitting Paris, and retiring to one of the frontier towns, where he meant to collect around him such of his troops and subjects as still retained their fidelity; and, in case other means should fail, to call in the assistance of his allies, for the restoration of order and tranquillity in the kingdom. The King declared that, with respect to this plan, he acted in perfect concert with the Emperor, and his other allies, who insisted on his being at liberty before they took any steps in his favour. M. Bouillé declared himself totally adverse to the project, as fraught with danger, and probably with ruin. At the latter end of January, 1791, however, the King notified to M. Bouillé, that he hoped to accomplish his departure from Paris in the month of March or April. On the 22d of January the King communicated to the National Assembly a letter from the Emperor of Germany, containing strong protestations of amity towards France; but intimating that, to consolidate that friendship, the revocation of the decree of the 4th of August, 1790, for the suppression of feudal rights, would be necessary, several German princes, possessing fiefs in Lorraine and Alsace, being injured thereby; that all innovations in virtue of that decree be abolished, and matters put upon their ancient footing. The Assembly immediately voted a large augmentation of military force, regardless of the intimation, that the Emperor had acted only in an official capacity, in conformity to the decrees of the diet.

On the 18th of April, the King being on the point of setting out from Paris to the palace of St. Cloud, to pass the Easter festival, his carriage was stopped by an immense crowd, chiefly of the lowest rank, under the apprehension of an intended escape, and subsequent counter-revolution. Notwithstanding the exertions of M. de la Fayette,

who attended the King's person, and pledged himself for his security, he was finally compelled to return to the Thuilleries. On a complaint of this insult to the Assembly, the president made a respectful apology to the King, and a transient but fallacious calm succeeded. In a declaration signed by the Emperor Leopold at Mantua, on the 20th of May, and immediately transmitted to Paris, information was conveyed to the King and Queen, that the plan concerted for effecting a counter-revolution was in great forwardness, and that 100,000 troops, to be furnished by the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Turin, with the aid of the circles of the empire and the Swiss cantons, would be ready to enter France at the latter end of July, to act in conjunction with the regiments remaining loyal, the armed volunteers, and all the malcontents of the provinces. On the night of the 20th of June, the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Princess Elizabeth, sister to the King, also the Count and Countess de Provence, suddenly disappeared from the palace of the Thuilleries. Eluding the vigilance of the guard, Monsieur and Madame took the road to Mons; the rest of the royal family that of Montmedi. The King left behind him a paper, in which he formally revoked all his past declarations, as the effect of compulsory influence, prohibiting the ministers from signing any order, and enjoining the keeper of the seals to send them to him when required in his behalf. On the discovery of this event, the King's arms and effigies were taken down and broken by the populace of Paris; a proclamation of the National Assembly, however, soon restored order. The royal authority was formally suspended by a decree of the Assembly, and a provisional executive council appointed. The national guards were instantly in arms, and deputations from all the different public bodies appeared at the bar

of the Assembly, with the strongest and firmest professions of patriotism and obedience. Almost immediately, however, it was announced that the King and Queen had been arrested in their progress, at a place called Varennes, near the frontier. They were quickly brought back to Paris, and again consigned to the palace of the Tuilleries. Their entrance into the metropolis, and their slow and mournful procession through the principal streets of the city, exposed to the scornful gaze and bitter taunts of the multitude, formed a spectacle deeply affecting. The Queen, whose morning and meridian way through life had been strewn with roses and myrtles, now appeared to feel the fatal reverse of her fortune with exquisite sensibility, and perhaps with a dark and dreadful foreboding of the future.

Commissioners from the Assembly having waited upon the King, to receive his written declarations respecting the late event, his Majesty asserted that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, but meant merely to fix at Montmedi, till the vigour of government should be restored, and the constitution settled. It was said that the King had long carried on a secret correspondence with M. Bouillé, governor of Metz, and commandant of the forces on the German frontier, who had sent a detachment to escort the King to Montmedi—a position to be maintained only by force, and whence, in case of necessity, he could easily retreat to the Austrian territory of Luxemburg. The accidental arrest of the King entirely disconcerted these measures, and M. Bouillé made his escape into Germany, where he published a strong declaration against the Assembly. Some of the more violent members of the Assembly now proposed that they should declare an abdication, and place the Dauphin on the throne. Milder and more moderate counsels,

however, prevailed; and the King remained at the Thuilleries, vigilantly guarded, till the completion of the constitution. On the 3d of September the *Constitutional Act* was presented to the King, who signified his acceptance of it in writing, on the 13th; and on the following day he appeared at the Assembly, introduced by a grand deputation of sixty members, to consecrate the assent he had given; concluding with an oath to be faithful to the nation and the law, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution. On the 30th of the same month, the *Constituent National Assembly*, as it was termed, after an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, terminated its existence by a spontaneous dissolution, having, by a kind of self-denying ordinance, determined that none of its members should be eligible to the next legislative assembly.

The French Revolution was this year again celebrated in England; particularly at Birmingham, where, on the 14th of July, a party of gentlemen, to the number of 90, had a public dinner at the Hotel. Previously to the meeting, a most inflammatory hand-bill was circulated by some person, whose zeal was evidently greater than his judgment; and as party spirit ran very high at Birmingham, as the dissenters were numerous, and generally attached to the principles of the French revolution, and as the majority of the inhabitants firmly adhered to the church and to the King, such a hand-bill naturally excited a great fermentation in the town. A considerable number of persons assembled round the house at which the meeting was to be held, and hissed the company as they entered. These symptoms of discontent induced them to depart at a very early hour, after which the mob became riotous, and demolished all the windows in front of the Hotel, notwithstanding the personal

interposition of the magistrates. On the next day, Friday, July the 15th, the mob assembled in still greater numbers, and, there being no adequate force at hand to oppose them, became ungovernable. They destroyed Dr. Priestley's meeting-house and residence, another meeting-house, and several elegant and valuable houses in the town and neighbourhood, belonging to dissenters. These disgraceful riots continued from the evening of Thursday to that of Sunday, when a party of light horse arrived at Birmingham, to the great joy of the inhabitants. The mob then dispersed, all mischief ceased, tranquillity was restored, and some of the ringleaders were secured. In an early part of the business, the magistrates had offered 100 guineas reward for the discovery of the author of the inflammatory hand-bill already mentioned, and a greater reward was afterwards offered by government for the same purpose, but without effect. The rioters who were apprehended were put on their trial at the ensuing assizes, and two of them were executed. At Dr. Priestley's house, his philosophical apparatus, his library, and his manuscripts, were destroyed. The loss, of course, was considerable, and, in some respects, irreparable. The losses sustained by Dr. Priestley, as well as by the other sufferers, from those licentious outrages, were made good by the hundred, in the way which the law directs, and in which all similar losses are compensated; but the jury having made considerable deductions from the Doctor's estimate, his damages being laid at 4122*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* and the sum awarded being 2502*l.* 18*s.* he vented his complaints in a letter which he addressed to the people of Birmingham.

Previously to this period, societies had been formed in different parts of the kingdom, upon the plan of the revolution society, and, although they

had not yet proceeded to those extremities to which they soon had recourse, their avowed principles, and promulgated sentiments, were sufficient to arouse the government to vigilance, if not to fill them with alarm. A regular correspondence was carried on with the revolutionary societies in France, from which even delegates were sent to compliment the associated sons of French liberty in this country.

CHAPTER XVII.

Meeting of Parliament—Marriage of the Duke of York—Prosperous state of the finances—Lottery opposed—Slave trade—Westminster police—Royal burghs of Scotland—Libel bill carried—Society of Friends of the People—Proclamation against sedition—Conviction of Thomas Paine—Revenues of India—Indian war—Parliament prorogued—Affairs of France—Poland—Sweden—The English ambassador quits Paris—Loyal Association formed in London—Various other societies in correspondence with the French Convention—Proclamations for calling out the militia, and for assembling Parliament—King's speech—Debates on the address—Diminution of the Opposition party—Motion for sending a minister to Paris—Alien bill—Trial and death of Louis the XVIth.

THE English Parliament assembled on the 31st of January, 1792, when the King announced the marriage of his son the Duke of York with the Princess Frederica, daughter of the King of Prussia; and informed the two Houses that a treaty had been concluded, under his mediation and that of his allies, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, and preliminaries agreed upon between the latter of those powers and Russia. The general state of affairs in Europe, he said, promised a continuance of peace; and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments. The debates on the address, and several succeeding discussions in both Houses, principally turned upon the line of policy pursued by the ministry, in their interference in the quarrel

between Turkey and Russia, and in the hostility they had displayed towards the latter power.

On the 17th of February Mr. Pitt exhibited an interesting picture of national prosperity. The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January, 1791, to January, 1792, he estimated at 16,730,000*l.* being 300,000*l.* more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at 15,810,000*l.* leaving a clear surplus of more than 900,000*l.* In this state of things he thought himself authorized to propose the repeal of a part of the more burdensome taxes, to the amount of about 200,000*l.* per annum; and at the same time to apply the sum of 400,000*l.* to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by Parliament. This would still fall far short of his estimate of the national ability, and there was good ground to believe that we had not reached by many degrees the summit of our prosperity. When the debentures to the American loyalists should be discharged, which would happen in about four years, an addition of near 300,000*l.* would accrue to the revenue. In consequence of the general improvement of credit, the three per cents would soon rise so high as to enable the Parliament to effect a reduction of the four, and, as soon as by law redeemable, of the five per cents, which would add the sum of 700,000*l.* or little less, to the sinking fund. The indefinite additions which might be expected from the increasing produce of the existing taxes, the result of our rapidly increasing commerce, must mock all calculation. Our exports had risen one-third in value since the year 1783, *i. e.* from 14,741,000*l.* to

20,120,000*l.* and our internal trade had increased in at least an equal proportion. Thus should we be enabled to make a swiftly accelerated progress in the essential work of liquidating the national debt, and in a very short space of time to reach a point which, perhaps, not long since, was thought too distant for calculation. On the continuance of our present prosperity it was indeed impossible to count with certainty ; but unquestionably there never was a time when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect a durable peace than at the present moment. Such were the brilliant hopes which at this moment the people were taught to indulge, and with such dazzling but deceptive splendour rose the morn of a year which was destined to set in darkness.

On the 7th of March the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration an establishment for the Duke and Duchess of York. By the treaty of marriage, the King of Prussia engaged to give his daughter a portion of 100,000 crowns, and the duke agreed to make her royal highness a present of 6000*l.* and to place at her sole disposal, for pin-money, 4000*l.* *per annum.* Mr. Pitt now proposed that 18,000*l.* a year should be allowed them out of the consolidated fund ; in addition to which, it was in contemplation that a further sum of 7000*l.* a year should be allowed them out of the Irish revenue. Lastly, he should propose that, in the event of her royal highness surviving the duke, the jointure of 8,000*l.* a year to her royal highness should be also payable out of the consolidated fund. In the opposition to the motion, the Bishopric of Osnaburgh was alluded to, as producing his royal highness a considerable sum, and, 12,000*l.* being already settled on him, several members considered the proposed grant too large : the resolutions were, however, carried.

The system of raising money by lottery was strongly opposed, in a committee of supply, on the 28th March, when the chancellor of the exchequer proposed that 812,500*l.* be obtained by that mode. Mr. M. A. Taylor expressed his surprise that, in a time of profound peace, the minister should have recourse to a measure so extremely injurious to the morals and happiness of the people, and conjured the legislature to adopt some other means. Several instances were adduced of the evils to which the system of state lotteries had led, amounting to robbery and suicide; and a petition from the grand jury of Middlesex was presented by Mr. Mainwaring, earnestly praying the House to take the subject into serious consideration. The impression which these representations produced was such, that a motion for a committee to inquire into the evils arising from this source was immediately carried.

On the 2d of April the House resolved itself into a committee on the African slave trade. From the decision on Mr. Wilberforce's motion last session, it appeared that the enthusiasm of Parliament for the abolition had greatly abated; while, on the other hand, that of the public in general had increased. The table of the House was now covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring in earnest language the abolition of that inhuman traffic. Mr. Wilberforce declared that from his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking and soothed his evening hours; and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves. He was aware that several who opposed him, judging by the humanity with which their own slaves were treated, could not conceive how the conduct of others could be so cruel. But it was not a Trajan or an Anto-

ninus that would make him in love with despotism, for, though they would not misuse their power, there were a great many others that would. He disclaimed any design of an immediate emancipation of the negroes, and concluded an able and eloquent speech by moving the question of abolition. Mr. Wilberforce was powerfully supported by many of the most respectable members of the House; amongst whom Mr. Whitbread particularly distinguished himself. It was the necessary quality of despotism, he said, to corrupt and vitiate the heart: and the moral evils of this system were still more to be dreaded than the political. But no mildness in practice could make that to be right which was fundamentally wrong. Nothing could make him give his assent to the original sin of delivering man over to the despotism of man. It was too degrading to see, not the produce of human labour, but man himself, made the object of trade. Mr. Dundas, who had been advanced to the dignity of secretary of state by the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, recommended the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and moved that the word *gradual* might be inserted before *abolition*. Mr. Pitt declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment, and conjured the House not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. Reflect, said he, on the eighty thousand persons annually torn from their native land! on the connexions which are broken! on the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are burst asunder! There is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon that continent? If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggra-

vated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather count the days and hours that are suffered to intervene, than to delay the accomplishment of such a work? If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue this night the line of conduct which they prescribe, some of us may live to see the reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry—in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre. Mr. Fox supported the same side with much force. The amendment, however, was carried, by a majority of 68; on which Mr. Dundas moved, that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease on the 1st of January, 1800. This, on the motion of Lord Mornington (now Marquis Wellesley), was, after great difficulty and debate, altered to January 1, 1796. A series of resolutions founded on this basis were then agreed to, and sent up for the concurrence of the Lords; where the Duke of Clarence, the third son of the King, commenced his parliamentary career with a violent declamation against the abolition and its advocates. The lord-chancellor moved that evidence be heard, not before a select committee, according to the proposition of Lord Grenville, but at the bar of the House. This motion having been carried, very little more was done in the business during the remainder of the session.

The next subject of importance that came under the consideration of Parliament was the establishment of a new police for the city and liberty of Westminster. The bill for this purpose was introduced by Mr. Burton, the outline of whose plan was, to establish five principal offices, to each of

which three justices of the peace were to be appointed, with a salary of 300*l.* each *per annum*. The fees paid into all the offices were to be consolidated into one fund, which was to be applied towards the discharge of the salaries, and no person in the commission was to be permitted to receive fees. To unite personal security with general liberty; to preserve inviolate the rights of property; to repress the efforts of violence without establishing a system of tyrannical coercion, is among the most arduous labours of government and legislation. That the established system required some alteration, no person acquainted with the subject could possibly doubt: but in the new regulations it appeared to many that an alarming influence was added to the executive power, and that one clause in particular, by which the constables were empowered to apprehend such persons as could not give a good account of themselves, and the magistrate to commit them as incorrigible rogues and vagabonds, conferred a power pregnant with abuse; the lower class of the people, on whom it would exclusively fall, having seldom the means of applying for legal redress. As the professed design of this clause was to facilitate the discovery of a new species of criminals, called reputed thieves, it was pointedly asked, what was the definition of a reputed thief? To punish men for acts which they had not committed, but for crimes which they intended to commit, was a new and dangerous principle in English law. Besides this, the bill referred to another act, as the rule of punishment: the vagrant act was the statute alluded to—a statute sufficiently objectionable, both on account of its undefined extent, and the extreme severity of the punishments it inflicts. The present bill, however, was not proposed as an absolute remedy for all the defects of the existing police,

but as a measure calculated to discover the best mode of framing a system which might approach as near perfection as human infirmity would admit. It was a mere experiment, being limited in its duration ; and as, at the expiration of the term proposed, Parliament would be able to judge of its expediency, it passed into a law.

On the 18th of April Mr. Sheridan made his long-expected motion for an inquiry into the grievances complained of by petition from the royal burghs of Scotland. The petitions set forth the general mismanagement, misapplication of money, dilapidation of property, and various injuries and grievances sustained by the petitioners, in consequence of the usurped authority of certain self-elected magistrates in these burghs, and that to these complaints there was at present no redress to be obtained under the law of Scotland. It had been observed, Mr. Sheridan said, that there were such grievances in England as well as in Scotland : but was this any reason for giving redress to neither ? Was justice to be defeated by a community of oppression ? Of late it had become a fashion to decry every thing in the shape of reform : it was, however, the best part of our constitution, that it contained a principle of reform in its very nature ; and we had at this day nothing in it that was beautiful that had not been forced from tyrants, and taken from the usurpations of despotism. Some persons, said he, seem to think that the French revolution should deter us from thinking of reform. Whatever might be the conduct of the parties concerned in that revolution, with regard to the event itself there could be but one feeling upon the subject—exultation and joy at the downfall of the despotism of France, the greatest enemy England ever had. We ought, he said, to attend to a rational and sober reformation of abuses, at a time when there was nothing to interrupt us :

this was the only way of avoiding the evils with which a reformation by violence might be attended. The motion for a committee was ably supported by Mr. Fox, but was lost by 69 against 27.

Mr. Fox's renewed motion, for a repeal of the test laws, and Mr. Whitbread's motion for an inquiry into the subject of the Birmingham riots, were subsequently negatived by large majorities. The libel bill, however, introduced in the last session by Mr. Fox, and lost in the Lords, was this session triumphantly carried through both Houses, and passed into a law, notwithstanding the opposition of the Law Lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst. A bill introduced into the House of Peers by Lord Elgin, for the relief of the Scottish episcopals, who had long been subject to heavy penalties on the ground of disaffection to the revolution establishment, was also passed.

In addition to the political societies already noticed, it was thought proper, by many of the professed advocates of constitutional liberty, about this period, to institute a society under the name of the *Friends of the People*, for the alleged purpose of effecting a reform in Parliament, on the principles formerly enforced by Mr. Pitt. About thirty members of Parliament, besides other persons of note, entered their names as members of this association. When Mr. Grey, one of the members, gave notice of his intention to move, in the course of the ensuing session, for an inquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Pitt warmly declared his total disapprobation of introducing, at so critical a period, a discussion of such difficulty and importance. This he affirmed was not a time for experiments; and if he was called upon either to risk this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative.

He saw with concern the gentleman to whom he alluded virtually united with others who professed the reform of abuses, and meant the subversion of government. A royal proclamation was immediately afterwards issued against the public dispersion of all seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondences—exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience. The proclamation having been laid before the House of Commons on the 25th of May, and an address moved of approbation and support, it was opposed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms, as a measure insidious and pernicious. The diligent inquiry, said the opposition, enjoined by the proclamation after the authors and distributors of wicked and seditious writings, could only tend to establish an odious and arbitrary system of espionage. This was the system which had made the old government of France so much the object of general detestation, and it was a system unworthy of the sovereign of a free people to recommend. The real object of the proclamation was merely to discredit the late association in the view of the public. This Mr. Pitt explicitly disclaimed, and expressed his high respect for many of the members of the association in question, declaring that he differed from them only in regard to the time and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. The address was finally carried, without a division, and, receiving the concurrence of the Upper House, was presented in form to the throne. It was followed by addresses from all parts of the kingdom; and the ministry commenced prosecutions against a number of offenders, amongst whom Thomas Paine stood most conspicuous. Notwithstanding the professional ability of Mr. Erskine, as his advocate, he

was found guilty of the charge ; but, foreseeing the probability of this event, he had effected his escape to France.

The trial of Mr. Hastings occupied twenty-two days of the present session. The attention of Parliament, towards the close of the session, was also drawn to the situation of India. Mr. Dundas stated the surplus of the Bengal revenue for the preceding year to be 1,100,000*l.* but it was remarked by Mr. Francis that the state of the country was ill able to bear the weight of these impositions. The seizures for non-payment of the land revenue were, he said, most alarmingly notorious : and he held in his hand, at that moment, two Bengal advertisements, the one announcing the sale of seventeen villages, the other of forty-two. The rest of the debate consisted chiefly in desultory conversation concerning the Indian war, the principal events of which we shall briefly describe.

The actual commencement of hostilities may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, stationed at Cranganore for the defence of that fortress, and those of Tippoo Sultan, on the 1st of May, 1790. This event was the signal of a most vigorous preparation for war on the part of the British. The grand Carnatic army, immediately assembling under the command of General Meadows, marched through the southern or Coimbatore country, and, penetrating the Ghauts, or passes of the mountains, advanced towards the city of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. On the western side, the Bombay army, under General Abercrombie, after reducing Cannanore and several other places on the coast, entered the kingdom of Mysore. The Sultan defending himself with great resolution, and no mean display of military skill, General Meadows found himself under the necessity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras ; where,

in December, 1790, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army in person. A grand effort was now resolved on to force a passage to Seringapatam, through the country westward of Madras. On the 21st of March, 1791, the important town of Bangalore was taken by storm, with little loss on the part of the British, but with a dreadful carnage of the unresisting garrison. On the 13th of May the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in sight of the superb capital of Mysore, defended by the Sultan in person; and on the next day an action took place, in which Tippoo was defeated. The swelling of the Cavery, however, in an island formed by the branches of which Seringapatam is situated, with the want of provisions, compelled Lord Cornwallis to commence his retreat to Bangalore, almost before his victory could be announced. General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the Ghauts on the opposite side, with a view to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, was now also obliged to lead back his army over the mountains they had lately passed. In the interim, the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas kept aloof, leaving the burden of the war almost entirely to the British. The ensuing campaign, for which Lord Cornwallis had made unremitted preparations, opened early in February, 1792. The eastern and western armies, resuming their former plan of operations, effected, before the end of the month, a junction under the walls of Seringapatam; and the forces of the Peishwa and of the Nizam encamped also at a small distance, and furnished to the British army a plentiful supply of stores and provisions. On the 6th of February a general attack was made by moonlight, the troops marching in grand and awful silence to their respective posts, on the lines of the Sultan, which was attended with very important effects, Tippoo being compelled to relinquish his former

advantageous position, which covered his capital; and Seringapatam was, in consequence of this defeat, closely and completely invested. The situation of Tippoo being now almost hopeless, he thought proper to send a vakeel to the camp of Lord Cornwallis, to sue for peace; which the British general granted on the hard terms, 1. of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers; 2. of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; 3. the release of all prisoners; and, 4. the delivery of two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th of February, the princes, each mounted on an elephant magnificently caparisoned, proceeded to the British camp, where they were received by Lord Cornwallis with all possible demonstrations of kindness and affection. The princes, the eldest about ten, and the younger about eight years of age, conducted themselves with a politeness and propriety which astonished the spectators. On the 19th of March the definitive treaty, signed by the Sultan, was delivered by the young princes, with great solemnity, into the hands of Lord Cornwallis; but the sums specified in the second article not being actually paid, the princes remained in the custody of his lordship for some time longer. The ceded territories were divided into three equal portions, and shared between the company, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.

On the 15th of June Parliament was prorogued, his Majesty expressing his great concern at the actual commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe, assuring them that his principal care would be to preserve to his people the uninterrupted blessings of peace. It is proper, also, to remark, that, as soon as it was known that there was a war on the Continent, a proclamation was

published by the King, prohibiting all his subjects from taking any part in it, by accepting commissions from either party, fitting out privateers or letters of marque by virtue of such commission, or serving on board any ship of war belonging to one of the belligerent powers, against the other.

The second National Assembly of France met October 1, 1791. The late Assembly having decreed that no person should be eligible to two successive legislatures, the present was not only destitute of the experience, talents, and integrity of the former, but, having been chosen at a period when the national rage was at the highest pitch, was of a much more republican complexion. The opening speech of the King was received with applause, and the president expressed the united wish of the Assembly to comply with his views; but this fair prospect was soon overcast. By the King's desire, on the acceptance of the constitutional act, a decree of indemnity had passed respecting the emigrants, on the condition of their returning to their country within a limited time: the agent, however, deputed on this commission to the refugee princes at Coblenz, was not only treated with contempt, but actually imprisoned, on pretence of his want of passports. In consequence of this outrage, and of the hostile preparations of the emigrants, a decree passed the Assembly early in November, 1791, declaring Prince Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited, in case he do not return to the kingdom in two months, his eventual claim to the throne; and, by a subsequent decree, the Assembly pronounced the French hostilely assembled on the frontier guilty of a conspiracy against their country, in case they did not return before the 1st of January, 1792; incurring thereby the forfeiture of their estates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children. On the 18th of November a severe decree passed

the Assembly against the nonjuring clergy, but to both these decrees the King opposed his veto. In the mean time the emigrants armed at Coblenz, and a political crisis evidently approached: the Assembly addressed the King to take effectual measures to prevent the dangers which menaced the country; and the King, in reply, assured the Assembly that the Emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally.

It subsequently appeared that, on the 24th of August, 1791, the Emperor Leopold, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, had met at the castle of Pilnitz, in Lusatia, belonging to the Elector, where they remained to the 28th. On the 27th, the Emperor delivered the following declaration to the Count d'Artois, who assisted at the conferences, and who had, in the month of May preceding, been admitted to a personal interview with the Emperor at Mantua:—"His Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having heard the desires and representations of Monsieur and of his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois, declare jointly, that they regard the situation in which his Majesty the King of France actually is as an object of common interest to all the Sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern cannot fail to be acknowledged by the powers whose assistance is claimed; and that in consequence they will not refuse to employ, jointly with their said Majesties, the most efficacious means, in proportion to their forces, to place the King of France in a state to settle, in the most perfect liberty, the foundations of a monarchical government, equally suitable to the rights of Sovereigns and the welfare of the French. Then, and in that case, their said Majesties are decided to act quickly, and with one accord, with the forces necessary to obtain the common end proposed. In the

mean time they will give suitable orders to their troops, that they may be ready to put themselves in motion." This paper was signed by the Emperor and King, whose project was, to form a league between all the powers of Europe, to surround France on every side with their armies; and then to publish a manifesto, requiring the French government to restore the King and royal family to their liberty, to re-instate his Majesty in his dignity, and to re-establish the monarchy on a solid basis, and upon reasonable principles. Threats of an invasion and an attack upon all points were to be held out, and to be executed in case of refusal; and it was agreed between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, according as circumstances should determine, either to make the claims of the German princes in Alsace a subject of negotiation, or a pretext for war. Addresses were presented to the Assembly from every quarter of the kingdom, indicating their dissatisfaction with the court. The republican party gained great strength; and forming themselves into a club, or society, assembling at the convent of the Jacobine Friars, recently dissolved, they acquired the then popular, but since infamous, appellation of Jacobins. The friends of monarchy, on the other hand, had, from a similarity of circumstances, obtained the name of Feuillants.

Warlike preparations continued to be made by the German powers; when, on the 1st of March, the Emperor Leopold II. died suddenly, of a malignant fever, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II. This event produced not the least change in the system of continental policy; and at length the French ambassador, M. Noailles, was ordered to require from the Imperial court a distinct specification of its ultimate objects. The reply was contained in a short note from M. Cobentzel, stating the conditions of peace to be the re-esta-

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amounting to 80,000 of the best troops in Europe, accompanied by a formidable band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, who had served with distinguished reputation under Frederic the Great, and who had gained fresh laurels by the sudden conquest of Holland. On the arrival of the duke at Coblenz, with the first division of his army, he was proclaimed Generalissimo, and on the 25th and 27th of July he put forth two manifestoes, explanatory of the reasons which actuated the allied sovereigns in taking up arms against France. They were drawn up in a style of haughty and sanguinary menace, and espoused the cause of royal authority in a manner calculated to confirm the suspicions generally entertained in France that Louis participated in the councils of the allied powers. In communicating these documents to the Legislative Assembly, the King in vain implied a doubt of their authenticity, and expressed the most faithful attachment to the constitution. One member affirmed that he had asserted what was not true, and on the 3d of August M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, to demand the dethronement of the King. A petition of the same tenor was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, and the Assembly had appointed the 10th of August to decide upon this grand question; but early on the morning of that day the palace of the Tuilleries was attacked by the Parisian populace; and, being valiantly defended by the Swiss guards, whose first volley covered the Place de Caroussel with dead bodies, a most bloody conflict took place, which terminated in the total defeat and destruction of the guards, and the complete triumph of the Parisians. The King, at the commencement of the engagement, had retreated across the gardens of the Tuilleries,

with the Queen, to the hall of the Assembly, who continued sitting in the midst of this unexampled scene of terror and confusion, and the incessant noise of musketry and cannon. All freedom of deliberation was now at an end: and a decree passed, declaring the executive power suspended, and summoning a national convention to meet on the 20th of September. The King and Queen meanwhile were committed close prisoners to the Temple, and on the following day a new provisional executive council was appointed, consisting of Roland, Servan, and Claviere, dismissed by the King; to whom was added M. le Brun, as minister of foreign affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumouriez, now acting in the capacity of general in the army, and the other commanders, submitted with readiness to the authority of the Assembly. La Fayette alone attempted resistance; but, finding himself wholly unsupported by his troops, he was obliged to make a precipitate escape. Being intercepted in his flight, and delivered up to the Prussians, he was committed close prisoner to the fortress of Magdeburg, and treated with uncommon severity. The combined armies in the mean time made considerable progress. The town of Longwy surrendered on the 21st of August, and in a few days afterwards that of Verdun. The country was now pronounced to be in danger; notwithstanding which, the National Assembly declared war against the King of Sardinia, who had given repeated proofs of his attachment towards the royal family.

Subsequently to the deposition of the King, the prisons had been filled with persons accused or suspected of disaffection to the existing government; and a sort of phrensy seizing the populace on the approach of the Duke of Brunswick, the prisons were forced open on the night of the 2d of September, and a most inhuman and infamous massacre of the

vated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather count the days and hours that are suffered to intervene, than to delay the accomplishment of such a work? If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue this night the line of conduct which they prescribe, some of us may live to see the reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry—in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period, in still later times, may blaze with full lustre. Mr. Fox supported the same side with much force. The amendment, however, was carried, by a majority of 68; on which Mr. Dundas moved, that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease on the 1st of January, 1800. This, on the motion of Lord Mornington (now Marquis Wellesley), was, after great difficulty and debate, altered to January 1, 1796. A series of resolutions founded on this basis were then agreed to, and sent up for the concurrence of the Lords; where the Duke of Clarence, the third son of the King, commenced his parliamentary career with a violent declamation against the abolition and its advocates. The lord-chancellor moved that evidence be heard, not before a select committee, according to the proposition of Lord Grenville, but at the bar of the House. This motion having been carried, very little more was done in the business during the remainder of the session.

The next subject of importance that came under the consideration of Parliament was the establishment of a new police for the city and liberty of Westminster. The bill for this purpose was introduced by Mr. Burton, the outline of whose plan was, to establish five principal offices, to each of

which three justices of the peace were to be appointed, with a salary of 300*l.* each *per annum*. The fees paid into all the offices were to be consolidated into one fund, which was to be applied towards the discharge of the salaries, and no person in the commission was to be permitted to receive fees. To unite personal security with general liberty; to preserve inviolate the rights of property; to repress the efforts of violence without establishing a system of tyrannical coercion, is among the most arduous labours of government and legislation. That the established system required some alteration, no person acquainted with the subject could possibly doubt: but in the new regulations it appeared to many that an alarming influence was added to the executive power, and that one clause in particular, by which the constables were empowered to apprehend such persons as could not give a good account of themselves, and the magistrate to commit them as incorrigible rogues and vagabonds, conferred a power pregnant with abuse; the lower class of the people, on whom it would exclusively fall, having seldom the means of applying for legal redress. As the professed design of this clause was to facilitate the discovery of a new species of criminals, called reputed thieves, it was pointedly asked, what was the definition of a reputed thief? To punish men for acts which they had not committed, but for crimes which they intended to commit, was a new and dangerous principle in English law. Besides this, the bill referred to another act, as the rule of punishment: the vagrant act was the statute alluded to—a statute sufficiently objectionable, both on account of its undefined extent, and the extreme severity of the punishments it inflicts. The present bill, however, was not proposed as an absolute remedy for all the defects of the existing police,

but as a measure calculated to discover the best mode of framing a system which might approach as near perfection as human infirmity would admit. It was a mere experiment, being limited in its duration ; and as, at the expiration of the term proposed, Parliament would be able to judge of its expediency, it passed into a law.

On the 18th of April Mr. Sheridan made his long-expected motion for an inquiry into the grievances complained of by petition from the royal burghs of Scotland. The petitions set forth the general mismanagement, misapplication of money, dilapidation of property, and various injuries and grievances sustained by the petitioners, in consequence of the usurped authority of certain self-elected magistrates in these burghs, and that to these complaints there was at present no redress to be obtained under the law of Scotland. It had been observed, Mr. Sheridan said, that there were such grievances in England as well as in Scotland : but was this any reason for giving redress to neither ? Was justice to be defeated by a community of oppression ? Of late it had become a fashion to decry every thing in the shape of reform : it was, however, the best part of our constitution, that it contained a principle of reform in its very nature ; and we had at this day nothing in it that was beautiful that had not been forced from tyrants, and taken from the usurpations of despotism. Some persons, said he, seem to think that the French revolution should deter us from thinking of reform. Whatever might be the conduct of the parties concerned in that revolution, with regard to the event itself there could be but one feeling upon the subject—exultation and joy at the downfall of the despotism of France, the greatest enemy England ever had. We ought, he said, to attend to a rational and sober reformation of abuses, at a time when there was nothing to interrupt us :

this was the only way of avoiding the evils with which a reformation by violence might be attended. The motion for a committee was ably supported by Mr. Fox, but was lost by 69 against 27.

Mr. Fox's renewed motion, for a repeal of the test laws, and Mr. Whitbread's motion for an inquiry into the subject of the Birmingham riots, were subsequently negatived by large majorities. The libel bill, however, introduced in the last session by Mr. Fox, and lost in the Lords, was this session triumphantly carried through both Houses, and passed into a law, notwithstanding the opposition of the Law Lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst. A bill introduced into the House of Peers by Lord Elgin, for the relief of the Scottish episcopals, who had long been subject to heavy penalties on the ground of disaffection to the revolution establishment, was also passed.

In addition to the political societies already noticed, it was thought proper, by many of the professed advocates of constitutional liberty, about this period, to institute a society under the name of the *Friends of the People*, for the alleged purpose of effecting a reform in Parliament, on the principles formerly enforced by Mr. Pitt. About thirty members of Parliament, besides other persons of note, entered their names as members of this association. When Mr. Grey, one of the members, gave notice of his intention to move, in the course of the ensuing session, for an inquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Pitt warmly declared his total disapprobation of introducing, at so critical a period, a discussion of such difficulty and importance. This he affirmed was not a time for experiments; and if he was called upon either to risk this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative.

He saw with concern the gentleman to whom he alluded virtually united with others who professed the reform of abuses, and meant the subversion of government. A royal proclamation was immediately afterwards issued against the public dispersion of all seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondences—exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience. The proclamation having been laid before the House of Commons on the 25th of May, and an address moved of approbation and support, it was opposed by Mr. Grey with much warmth, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms, as a measure insidious and pernicious. The diligent inquiry, said the opposition, enjoined by the proclamation after the authors and distributors of wicked and seditious writings, could only tend to establish an odious and arbitrary system of espionage. This was the system which had made the old government of France so much the object of general detestation, and it was a system unworthy of the sovereign of a free people to recommend. The real object of the proclamation was merely to discredit the late association in the view of the public. This Mr. Pitt explicitly disclaimed, and expressed his high respect for many of the members of the association in question, declaring that he differed from them only in regard to the time and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. The address was finally carried, without a division, and, receiving the concurrence of the Upper House, was presented in form to the throne. It was followed by addresses from all parts of the kingdom; and the ministry commenced prosecutions against a number of offenders, amongst whom Thomas Paine stood most conspicuous. Notwithstanding the professional ability of Mr. Erskine, as his advocate, he

was found guilty of the charge ; but, foreseeing the probability of this event, he had effected his escape to France.

The trial of Mr. Hastings occupied twenty-two days of the present session. The attention of Parliament, towards the close of the session, was also drawn to the situation of India. Mr. Dundas stated the surplus of the Bengal revenue for the preceding year to be 1,100,000*l.* but it was remarked by Mr. Francis that the state of the country was ill able to bear the weight of these impositions. The seizures for non-payment of the land revenue were, he said, most alarmingly notorious : and he held in his hand, at that moment, two Bengal advertisements, the one announcing the sale of seventeen villages, the other of forty-two. The rest of the debate consisted chiefly in desultory conversation concerning the Indian war, the principal events of which we shall briefly describe.

The actual commencement of hostilities may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the Rajah of Travancore, stationed at Cranganore for the defence of that fortress, and those of Tippoo Sultan, on the 1st of May, 1790. This event was the signal of a most vigorous preparation for war on the part of the British. The grand Carnatic army, immediately assembling under the command of General Meadows, marched through the southern or Coimbatore country, and, penetrating the Ghauts, or passes of the mountains, advanced towards the city of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. On the western side, the Bombay army, under General Abercrombie, after reducing Cannanore and several other places on the coast, entered the kingdom of Mysore. The Sultan defending himself with great resolution, and no mean display of military skill, General Meadows found himself under the necessity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras ; where,

in December, 1790, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army in person. A grand effort was now resolved on to force a passage to Seringapatam, through the country westward of Madras. On the 21st of March, 1791, the important town of Bangalore was taken by storm, with little loss on the part of the British, but with a dreadful carnage of the unresisting garrison. On the 13th of May the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in sight of the superb capital of Mysore, defended by the Sultan in person; and on the next day an action took place, in which Tippoo was defeated. The swelling of the Caverry, however, in an island formed by the branches of which Seringapatam is situated, with the want of provisions, compelled Lord Cornwallis to commence his retreat to Bangalore, almost before his victory could be announced. General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the Ghauts on the opposite side, with a view to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis, was now also obliged to lead back his army over the mountains they had lately passed. In the interim, the troops of the Nizam and the Mahrattas kept aloof, leaving the burden of the war almost entirely to the British. The ensuing campaign, for which Lord Cornwallis had made unremitted preparations, opened early in February, 1792. The eastern and western armies, resuming their former plan of operations, effected, before the end of the month, a junction under the walls of Seringapatam; and the forces of the Peishwa and of the Nizam encamped also at a small distance, and furnished to the British army a plentiful supply of stores and provisions. On the 6th of February a general attack was made by moonlight, the troops marching in grand and awful silence to their respective posts, on the lines of the Sultan, which was attended with very important effects, Tippoo being compelled to relinquish his former

advantageous position, which covered his capital; and Seringapatam was, in consequence of this defeat, closely and completely invested. The situation of Tippoo being now almost hopeless, he thought proper to send a vakeel to the camp of Lord Cornwallis, to sue for peace; which the British general granted on the hard terms, 1. of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers; 2. of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; 3. the release of all prisoners; and, 4. the delivery of two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the 26th of February, the princes, each mounted on an elephant magnificently caparisoned, proceeded to the British camp, where they were received by Lord Cornwallis with all possible demonstrations of kindness and affection. The princes, the eldest about ten, and the younger about eight years of age, conducted themselves with a politeness and propriety which astonished the spectators. On the 19th of March the definitive treaty, signed by the Sultan, was delivered by the young princes, with great solemnity, into the hands of Lord Cornwallis; but the sums specified in the second article not being actually paid, the princes remained in the custody of his lordship for some time longer. The ceded territories were divided into three equal portions, and shared between the company, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas.

On the 15th of June Parliament was prorogued, his Majesty expressing his great concern at the actual commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe, assuring them that his principal care would be to preserve to his people the uninterrupted blessings of peace. It is proper, also, to remark, that, as soon as it was known that there was a war on the Continent, a proclamation was

published by the King, prohibiting all his subjects from taking any part in it, by accepting commissions from either party, fitting out privateers or letters of marque by virtue of such commission, or serving on board any ship of war belonging to one of the belligerent powers, against the other.

The second National Assembly of France met October 1, 1791. The late Assembly having decreed that no person should be eligible to two successive legislatures, the present was not only destitute of the experience, talents, and integrity of the former, but, having been chosen at a period when the national rage was at the highest pitch, was of a much more republican complexion. The opening speech of the King was received with applause, and the president expressed the united wish of the Assembly to comply with his views; but this fair prospect was soon overcast. By the King's desire, on the acceptance of the constitutional act, a decree of indemnity had passed respecting the emigrants, on the condition of their returning to their country within a limited time: the agent, however, deputed on this commission to the refugee princes at Coblenz, was not only treated with contempt, but actually imprisoned, on pretence of his want of passports. In consequence of this outrage, and of the hostile preparations of the emigrants, a decree passed the Assembly early in November, 1791, declaring Prince Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited, in case he do not return to the kingdom in two months, his eventual claim to the throne; and, by a subsequent decree, the Assembly pronounced the French hostilely assembled on the frontier guilty of a conspiracy against their country, in case they did not return before the 1st of January, 1792; incurring thereby the forfeiture of their estates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children. On the 18th of November a severe decree passed

the Assembly against the nonjuring clergy, but to both these decrees the King opposed his veto. In the mean time the emigrants armed at Coblenz, and a political crisis evidently approached: the Assembly addressed the King to take effectual measures to prevent the dangers which menaced the country; and the King, in reply, assured the Assembly that the Emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally.

It subsequently appeared that, on the 24th of August, 1791, the Emperor Leopold, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, had met at the castle of Pilnitz, in Lusatia, belonging to the Elector, where they remained to the 28th. On the 27th, the Emperor delivered the following declaration to the Count d'Artois, who assisted at the conferences, and who had, in the month of May preceding, been admitted to a personal interview with the Emperor at Mantua:—"His Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, having heard the desires and representations of Monsieur and of his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois, declare jointly, that they regard the situation in which his Majesty the King of France actually is as an object of common interest to all the Sovereigns of Europe. They hope that this concern cannot fail to be acknowledged by the powers whose assistance is claimed; and that in consequence they will not refuse to employ, jointly with their said Majesties, the most efficacious means, in proportion to their forces, to place the King of France in a state to settle, in the most perfect liberty, the foundations of a monarchical government, equally suitable to the rights of Sovereigns and the welfare of the French. Then, and in that case, their said Majesties are decided to act quickly, and with one accord, with the forces necessary to obtain the common end proposed. In the

mean time they will give suitable orders to their troops, that they may be ready to put themselves in motion." This paper was signed by the Emperor and King, whose project was, to form a league between all the powers of Europe, to surround France on every side with their armies; and then to publish a manifesto, requiring the French government to restore the King and royal family to their liberty, to re-instate his Majesty in his dignity, and to re-establish the monarchy on a solid basis, and upon reasonable principles. Threats of an invasion and an attack upon all points were to be held out, and to be executed in case of refusal; and it was agreed between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, according as circumstances should determine, either to make the claims of the German princes in Alsace a subject of negotiation, or a pretext for war. Addresses were presented to the Assembly from every quarter of the kingdom, indicating their dissatisfaction with the court. The republican party gained great strength; and forming themselves into a club, or society, assembling at the convent of the Jacobine Friars, recently dissolved, they acquired the then popular, but since infamous, appellation of Jacobins. The friends of monarchy, on the other hand, had, from a similarity of circumstances, obtained the name of Feuillants.

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duced a petition to the King for the dismissal of the new administration, and the withdrawing of the veto, by means of which he had been persuaded to suspend the execution of several decrees. An immense multitude, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and accompanied by a crowd of women, proceeded to the Assembly, and required permission to present their homage, and file through its hall. They then proceeded to the palace, and soon forced their way into the presence of his Majesty, to whom they read their petition. Louis XVI. exhibited on this occasion considerable intrepidity; neither the threats nor howlings of the mob could prevail upon him to alter his intentions, or withdraw his veto; and the populace was, at length, persuaded to retire. This visit to the Tuilleries was but a prelude to one far more terrible; for though the Girondists, who only wished for a popular administration, always exhibited a laudable aversion to the shedding of blood; yet it was otherwise with the Robespierrean party, their rivals, who now began to display a degree of ferocity hitherto unexampled in any age or country. On the 14th of July, the day of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a perjured prince; and it was with some difficulty that the Swiss guards, and the national grenadiers, could ensure his safety.

The propositions of the court of Vienna being deemed inadmissible, and war being declared by France against the King of Hungary on the 20th of April, a counter-declaration was issued on the 5th of July, on the part of Francis II.; and on the 26th Frederic William II. published a concise exposition of the reasons which determined Prussia to take up arms against France. It was at this crisis that the armies of the allied sovereigns,

amounting to 80,000 of the best troops in Europe, accompanied by a formidable band of expatriated nobles, were about to enter France under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, who had served with distinguished reputation under Frederic the Great, and who had gained fresh laurels by the sudden conquest of Holland. On the arrival of the duke at Coblenz, with the first division of his army, he was proclaimed Generalissimo, and on the 25th and 27th of July he put forth two manifestoes, explanatory of the reasons which actuated the allied sovereigns in taking up arms against France. They were drawn up in a style of haughty and sanguinary menace, and espoused the cause of royal authority in a manner calculated to confirm the suspicions generally entertained in France that Louis participated in the councils of the allied powers. In communicating these documents to the Legislative Assembly, the King in vain implied a doubt of their authenticity, and expressed the most faithful attachment to the constitution. One member affirmed that he had asserted what was not true, and on the 3d of August M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, to demand the dethronement of the King. A petition of the same tenor was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, and the Assembly had appointed the 10th of August to decide upon this grand question; but early on the morning of that day the palace of the Thuilleries was attacked by the Parisian populace; and, being valiantly defended by the Swiss guards, whose first volley covered the Place de Carousel with dead bodies, a most bloody conflict took place, which terminated in the total defeat and destruction of the guards, and the complete triumph of the Parisians. The King, at the commencement of the engagement, had retreated across the gardens of the Thuilleries,

with the Queen, to the hall of the Assembly, who continued sitting in the midst of this unexampled scene of terror and confusion, and the incessant noise of musketry and cannon. All freedom of deliberation was now at an end: and a decree passed, declaring the executive power suspended, and summoning a national convention to meet on the 20th of September. The King and Queen meanwhile were committed close prisoners to the Temple, and on the following day a new provisional executive council was appointed, consisting of Roland, Servan, and Claviere, dismissed by the King; to whom was added M. le Brun, as minister of foreign affairs. M. Luckner, M. Dumouriez, now acting in the capacity of general in the army, and the other commanders, submitted with readiness to the authority of the Assembly. La Fayette alone attempted resistance; but, finding himself wholly unsupported by his troops, he was obliged to make a precipitate escape. Being intercepted in his flight, and delivered up to the Prussians, he was committed close prisoner to the fortress of Magdeburg, and treated with uncommon severity. The combined armies in the mean time made considerable progress. The town of Longwy surrendered on the 21st of August, and in a few days afterwards that of Verdun. The country was now pronounced to be in danger; notwithstanding which, the National Assembly declared war against the King of Sardinia, who had given repeated proofs of his attachment towards the royal family.

Subsequently to the deposition of the King, the prisons had been filled with persons accused or suspected of disaffection to the existing government; and a sort of phrensy seizing the populace on the approach of the Duke of Brunswick, the prisons were forced open on the night of the 2d of September, and a most inhuman and infamous massacre of the

prisoners took place. On the 20th the National Convention met at Paris, and a decree was immediately passed, by acclamation, for the eternal abolition of royalty in France.

It was now the fate of the allied armies to experience a severe reverse. Of the five passes of the forest of Argonne, those of Croix-aux-Bois and Chene Populeux, to the eastward, were, after many ineffectual attempts, forced by General Clairfait; on which General Dumouriez abandoned the important defile of Grand-Pre, to avoid being enclosed, and retreated without loss to the strong camp of St. Menehould. On the 16th of September the Prussians entered the Grand-Pre, and took post on the heights of La Lune, between the enemy and Chalons. But the position of the French army being adjudged, after much deliberation, impregnable, and the attempt to proceed to Paris, leaving a force, now increased to 60,000 men, in the rear, appearing to the Prussian general in the highest degree rash and dangerous, no alternative remained. The French army receiving continual reinforcements, and the Prussians beginning to experience the evils of sickness and famine, in addition to the ordinary sufferings of war, the Duke of Brunswick was reduced to the necessity of commencing his retreat on the 1st of October, and by the 18th the Austrian and Prussian armies had completely evacuated France. At this time, indeed, the French arms were triumphant in every quarter. General Montesquieu, entering Savoy on the 20th of September, was received with acclamation at Chamberri, the capital, and the whole country submitted almost without resistance. On the other side, the fortress of Montalban and the entire county of Nice were conquered by General Anselm. On the banks of the Rhine, General Custine reduced successively the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and

Frankfort. On the 20th of October a decree passed the National Convention, declaring that the republic was saved, and the country no longer in danger. Early in November Dumouriez entered the Austrian Netherlands, and gained the victory of Jemappe, the consequences of which were very decisive. Mons instantly surrendered; Tournay, Ostend, Ghent, and Antwerp, soon followed; and on the 14th the French general made his triumphal entry into Brussels. Before the end of the year the whole of the Austrian low countries, Luxemburg only excepted, with the city and territory of Liege, were subjected by the victorious arms of France. Elated by this unexampled series of triumph, the following decree was passed by acclamation in the Assembly, on the 19th of November: "The National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people; and to defend citizens who have suffered, and are now suffering, in the cause of liberty." This decree was productive of very serious consequences. Two other decrees of the Assembly also require to be mentioned: the one passed November the 27th, erecting the duchy of Savoy into an 84th department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the constitution, by which she renounced all foreign conquest: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheldt.

The execution of the decree for banishing all the nonjuring clergymen to Guiana, who should not have quitted the kingdom in fourteen days from its passing, poured thousands of these unfortunate exiles from Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany, upon our coasts of Kent and Sussex. Wherever these

sufferers appeared, they were welcomed, relieved, and comforted, and our difference from that very religion for which they were persecuted was swallowed up in a generous feeling for their unfortunate and hapless condition.

At this period France was not the only European state which attracted the notice of the political observer. In Poland, a country always bordering on a state of anarchy, and subject to the undue influence of the neighbouring powers, the efforts of a patriotic King, and of a nobility and clergy prepared to make every sacrifice for the promotion of the public welfare, were rendered abortive by the unwarrantable interference of Prussia and Russia. The latter power, in particular, assumed a tone of command, and a conduct correspondent therewith, utterly incompatible with the independence of the state to which it was addressed. The alterations which the Poles made in the internal government of their country affected only themselves, and there existed no pretext for interference, except what arose out of views too unjust to acknowledge, and out of designs too dishonourable to reveal. The principal change in the constitution of Poland was the substitution of an hereditary for an elective monarchy; a change highly favourable to the national independence, constitutional stability, and social order. The destined successor of Stanislaus was the Elector of Saxony, to whom no national objection could be raised by any one. The King communicated the result of this bloodless revolution to the Emperor Leopold, and to the King of Prussia, both of whom expressed their general approbation of the event, and their particular congratulations on the wise choice which had been made of a successor. The Empress of Russia, however, openly expressed her high displeasure at the presumption of its King, and its representatives, in

their resolution to assert their own independence, and announced her intentions of taking active measures for restoring the former order of things. The new constitution was confirmed by the Dictines, which assembled in the spring of 1792, and the popular voice was decidedly in its favour; nothing, therefore, was wanting to ensure its stability, but the support, or even acquiescence, of the neighbouring states: a material change, however, had taken place in the situation of Europe, and the rapid progress of French principles had excited alarm in the minds of all the continental powers. The Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia were the first to express their apprehensions of the rising danger, and the Empress of Russia had lately warned her subjects, emphatically and successfully, against the fatal contagion. These apprehensions had led the two first of these powers to dread any change in the constitutions of adjoining states; to regard the cry of liberty as the watchword of insurrection; and, consequently, to extend their fears to the late revolution in Poland, which, till now, they had viewed with a favourable eye. The Imperial Catherine, who, in her late proclamation against French principles, had artfully asserted that they would soon ruin Poland, would have been equally hostile to the new Polish constitution if the French revolution had never occurred. She had too much sagacity not to perceive that it differed from the revolution in France in every one of its features, in its object, its end, its means, and its principle; her dread, therefore, of the effects of French principles in Poland, was assumed, for the purpose of giving a colour to the most unjust and tyrannical interference in the internal concerns of an independent state which unprincipled despotism ever enforced or attempted. On the 18th of May, her envoy at the court of Poland, Mr. Non Bul-

gakow, delivered a declaration to the Diet, by order of his Sovereign, couched in the most insulting terms. Catherine did not scruple to make the partial change in their own constitution, without consulting her pleasure, the subject of complaint and reproach to the Poles. The advocate for monarchy in France, she did not blush to avow herself the champion of republicanism in Poland; an absolute sovereign herself, she did not hesitate to reprobate the union of power in one single hand as utterly incompatible with republican principles; in possession of an hereditary throne, she dared to tax, as an audacious violation of the laws, the conversion of the elective throne of Poland into an hereditary throne: and, lastly, while she punished, with the most rigorous severity, every reflection of her subjects upon her own government, she openly encouraged the seditious and rebellious Poles, and appealed from the lawful rulers of the state to the people! In short, a more unprincipled interference with the internal policy of a foreign state history does not exhibit. In this declaration, too, which it is impossible to characterize in terms of adequate strength, she accused all those Poles who had sworn obedience to the constitution, and who had formed at least nine-tenths of the whole population of the country, with perjury; and she expressed her resolution to send an army into Poland, for the purpose of restoring, by force, the ancient order of things. The King of Prussia, at the same time, determined to remain neuter, though in direct violation of an existing treaty with Poland, concluded in 1790; and the Emperor of Germany adopted the same line of conduct; so that Catherine had now nothing to fear from the unequal efforts of a people whom she exerted every art to divide. The Polish government had no difficulty in confuting the fallacies and the falsehoods which the Russian Empress had

stooped to adopt in the declaration of her minister. Their answer was firm, temperate, and dignified, and an animated address from the King to his subjects was published about the same time, which produced the desired effect; but the ability to make the necessary preparations for opposing so powerful an enemy was by no means equal to the public spirit which prevailed. The Empress poured one formidable body of troops into the Ukraine, and another into Lithuania, and in neither place was there any force adequate to a successful resistance. The Poles, however, fought bravely and skilfully; but numbers soon prevailed over courage, and, in less than two months, the Russians, having advanced to within three days' march of the capital, compelled the King to save his throne by consenting to the abolition of the new constitution. This compulsory act took place on the 23d of July, when an armistice was immediately concluded, and the command of the Polish troops consigned to a Russian general.

During the exhibition of this disgraceful scene in Poland, Sweden became the theatre of a most atrocious occurrence. Gustavus, the heroic monarch of that country, was assassinated, on the 16th of March, at a masquerade at the Opera House in Stockholm, by a person named Ankerstrom, formerly an officer of the guards, who was one of a band of conspirators who had taken offence at some part of the public conduct of the King, and had long had this deed in contemplation. With his dying breath he pardoned the traitors who had deprived him of life, except the immediate perpetrator of the deed, who, on the representation of the destined regent, the Duke of Sudermania, was reserved as a victim to offended justice. This prince, who possessed many great qualities, had rendered his country infinite service by curtailing the power of

a corrupt and turbulent nobility, by increasing the comforts of his people, and by shaking off the degrading yoke of dependence in which the Russian Autocrat had long kept the court and cabinet of Stockholm. Gustavus had entered into the alliance against the revolution in France with all the ardour of his character, but, on his death, the regent determined on preserving a strict neutrality.

The functions of royalty having been suspended in France by the transactions of the 10th of August, and the virtual deposition of the French monarch, Lord Gower, the English ambassador at Paris, received orders from the court of London to quit the kingdom. M. Chauvelin, the French ambassador, however, still remained in London, though from this period unacknowledged in any public or authorized capacity. The deposition of the French monarch, and the horrid massacres, provocations, and injuries which preceded and produced that event, naturally wrought upon the minds of the generality of the people in England, and struck them with terror at the idea of innovation. In this feeling, an association, openly countenanced by, though not originating with, government, was formed in London, for the protection of liberty and property against republicans and levellers; and a multitude of pamphlets, in the popular form of letters, dialogues, and narratives, were circulated by this means throughout the country, inculcating due submission to government. The spirit of this association spread rapidly through the kingdom; and in every county, and almost every town, resolutions were subscribed, strongly expressive of loyalty and attachment to the King and constitution.

Previously to this period, the violent zealots of liberty in England had been accustomed to transmit addresses to the National Convention, declaratory of their applause and admiration. The most remark-

able of these, intituled "An Address from several Patriotic Societies in England," was presented, on the 7th of November, at the bar of the Convention, containing, in addition to the usual complimentary expressions, the most indecent and indefensible reflections upon the government and constitution of their own country. "Whilst foreign plunderers ravage your territories (say these addresses), an oppressed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and address their fervent prayers to the God of the universe that he may be favourable to your cause, with which theirs is so intimately connected. Degraded by an oppressive system of inquisition—the insensible, but continual, encroachments of which quickly deprived this nation of its boasted liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves—five thousand English citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their country from that opprobrium which has been thrown on it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power. We see with concern that the Elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of traitors and robbers; and the King of England will do well to remember that England is not Hanover. Should he forget this, we will not forget it." The president of the Convention, in his answer to this effusion, used expressions full of respect and complacency; and, to crown the absurdity, copies of the address were ordered to be sent to all the armies and departments of the republic. On the 28th of November a deputation from the "Society for Constitutional Information" presented an address at the bar of the Convention, congratulating that Assembly on the glorious triumph of liberty on the 10th of August; and declared that, notwithstanding the hireling pens which might be employed by the

power of government to contradict them, they spoke the sentiments of a majority of the English nation. In the prefatory speech of the deputies, John Frost and Joel Barlow, were expressions yet more seditious than in the address. They took upon them to predict that, after the example given by France, revolutions would become easy. Reason, say they, is about to make a rapid progress ; and it would not be extraordinary if, in a much less space of time than can be imagined, the French should send addresses of congratulation to a National Convention of England. The French president, in reply, paid the highest compliments to the English nation, as having afforded illustrious examples to the universe. “ The shades of Hampden and of Sydney (exclaimed he) hover over your heads ; and the moment, without doubt, approaches, in which the French will bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain. Generous republicans ! your appearance among us prepares a subject of history.” The speech, the address, and the answer of the president, were ordered to be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments, and translated into all languages ! On the same day a deputation from the British and Irish resident at Paris appeared at the bar, and, amidst loud and reiterated plaudits, they declared their belief “ that the disgraceful memory of those pretended governments, the offspring of the combined fraud of priests and tyrants, would in a short time alone remain. Our wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to behold the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that, on its arrival, we shall see an intimate union formed between the French republic and the English, Irish, and Scottish nations. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments :—we doubt not that they would be equally conspicuous in the great majority of our fellow-countrymen, if

the public opinion were to be consulted there, as it ought, in a National Convention." Again the president answered in a strain of inflated rhetoric. "Principles are waging war against tyranny, which will fall under the blows of philosophy. Royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing on the ruins of feudality; and the declaration of rights, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which shall consume them. Worthy republicans! congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival which you have made in honour of the French revolution is the prelude to the festival of nations."

On the 1st of December a royal proclamation was issued, announcing that, notwithstanding the late proclamation of the 21st of May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil-disposed persons within the kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and constitution; that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, had lately shown itself in acts of riot and insurrection; and that, these causes moving him thereto, his Majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom. On the same day another proclamation was issued for convening the Parliament (which stood prorogued to the 3d of January, 1793) on the 13th of December; the law requiring that, if the militia be drawn out during the recess, Parliament shall be assembled within the space of fourteen days. At the same time troops were marched to the metropolis, the guard at the Bank was doubled, and the fortifications of the Tower of London were repaired.

On the meeting of Parliament on the day appointed, the expressions of the first proclamation were repeated in the royal speech; towards the conclusion of which, the King expressed himself as follows:—"I have carefully observed a strict neu-

trality in the present war on the Continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal government of France: but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications, which have appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies, the States General, measures which were neither conformable to the laws of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties." Under these circumstances his Majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was intrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force. The address was moved by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir James Sanderson, who stated the aim of the different societies recently established to be the subversion of the constitution. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, declared his belief that all the insinuations in the speech were unfounded, that no insurrection existed, and that the alarm was occasioned only by the artful designs and practices of ministers. He reprobated the system of intellectual oppression which induced them to represent the tumults and disorders that had taken place as designed to overthrow the constitution, and that the various societies instituted for discussing constitutional questions were so many schemes for propagating seditious doctrines. By this new scheme of tyranny, he said, we were not to judge of the conduct of men by their overt acts, but to arrogate to ourselves at once the province and power of the Deity; we were to arraign a man for his secret thoughts, and to punish him because we chose to believe him guilty! In the present state of men's minds, and of the ferment artfully

created, Mr. Fox was aware that he was advancing opinions likely to be unpopular; but it was not the first time that he had incurred the same hazard. He was as ready to meet the current of popular opinion now running in favour of those high lay doctrines, as he was in the year 1783 to meet the opposite torrent, when it was said that he wished to sacrifice the people to the crown. He would do now, as he did then—he would act against the cry of the moment, in the confidence that the reflection of the people would bear him out. “One extreme,” said he, “naturally leads to another. Those who dread republicanism fly for shelter to the crown. Those who desire reform, and are calumniated, are driven by despair to republicanism. And this is the evil that I dread. These are the extremes into which these violent agitations hurry the people, to the gradual decrease of that middle order of men, who dread as much republicanism, on the one hand, as they do despotism on the other. That middle order of men, who have hitherto preserved to this country all that is dear in life, I am sorry to say is daily lessening; but, while my feeble voice continues, it shall not be totally extinct; there shall at least be one who will, in this ferment of extremes, preserve the centre point.” In adverting to the affairs of France, Mr. Fox argued that no man who loved the constitution of England, who felt its principles in his heart, could wish success to the Duke of Brunswick, after reading a manifesto which violated every doctrine that Englishmen hold sacred; which trampled under foot every principle of justice, humanity, and true government. He was not ready to subscribe exactly to the idea of a resolution, never to go to war unless we were attacked; but this country never had so much reason to wish for peace; never was a period so little favourable to a rupture with France, or with any power; and surely

it was our duty, as it was our true policy, to exert every means to avert that greatest of national calamities. Mr. Fox concluded a very long and animated speech with moving an amendment, simply pledging the House that inquiry should be made into the facts stated in his Majesty's speech. Mr. Windham felt himself constrained to vote on this occasion with those whose measures he had uniformly and conscientiously reprobated. He was told, he said, that there was no real cause for alarm among the people; that the only alarm that was felt had been created by government. Government must certainly have had strange and wonderful powers indeed to produce the alarm every day expressed in different parts. He spoke not from mistrust merely, or rumour; but he knew, and it was notorious, that there had been, and was now, a constant communication between persons in Paris and in London, the object of which was the destruction of our present form of government. Mr. Grey supported the amendment. He was no friend to Paine's doctrines, but he was not to be deterred by a name from acknowledging that he considered the rights of man as the foundation of every government, and those who stood out against these rights as traitors against the people. On the question of a war with France, he would only remark, that a heavy responsibility must fall upon ministers if they had not taken every possible precaution to avert that calamity. Mr. Burke affirmed that there was a faction in this country who wished to submit it to France, that our government might be reformed upon the French system. The question now was not, he said, whether we should make an address to the throne, but whether we should have a throne at all. Mr. Erskine was convinced that it was the wisdom of that House to govern the people by their affections, to meet their complaints, to redress

their grievances, and, by granting them a fair representation, remove the ground of their dissatisfaction. The people were already taxed to a most enormous extent; and should a war be the consequence, when it appeared that every precaution had not been taken to prevent it, they would incur a most heavy responsibility, both to the public and to that House, for having precipitated the nation into so great a calamity. After a long debate, the House divided: for the amendment 50, against it 290. In the Lords, the address was carried without a division; but it was strongly opposed by the Duke of Norfolk, and Lords Lansdowne, Rawdon, and Stanhope.

By this time the opposition had suffered a serious defection; in the Upper House, of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Portland, and Lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Loughborough, who, on the resignation of Lord Thurlow at this period, was advanced to the chancellorship; and in the Lower House, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Anstruther, &c. who by their secession acquired the appellation of Alarmists. On the bringing up the report, on the succeeding day, however, the debate was resumed; and Mr. Fox moved an amendment, beseeching his Majesty to employ every means of negotiation consistent with the honour and safety of this country, to avert the calamities of war. Mr. Burke affirmed, that to send an ambassador to France would be the prelude to the murder of our Sovereign. Mr. Pitt was not at this time a member of the House, having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, void by the death of the Earl of Guildford. In his absence, Mr. Dundas entered into a long and able vindication of the measures of administration, and the amendment was negatived without a division. Mr. Fox, however, on the 15th of December, moved, that a minister be sent to

Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France. This, he said, implied neither approbation nor disapprobation of the conduct of the existing French government. It was the policy and practice of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation, with which it had relative interests, without inquiring how that government was constituted, or by what means it acquired possession of power. Was the existing government of Morocco more respectable than that of France? Yet we had more than once sent embassies thither, to men reeking from the blood through which they had waded to their thrones. We had ministers at the German courts at the time of the infamous partition of Poland. We had a minister at Versailles when Corsica was bought and enslaved. But in none of these instances was any sanction given directly or indirectly by Great Britain to these nefarious transactions. In answer to the objection, that, if we agreed to a negotiation, we should not know with whom to treat, Mr. Whitbread asked if we knew with whom we were going to war? If there was no difficulty in deciding upon that point, how could we pretend to be at a loss to know with whom we were to make peace? Doubtless with that Assembly, truly described by his Majesty as exercising the powers of government in France. This motion was also negatived without a division.

One of the earliest measures of precaution, which Mr. Pitt next deemed necessary for the preservation of public order, was a bill for subjecting Aliens to particular regulations and restrictions. The motive which gave rise to this bill was the influx of Frenchmen into the kingdom, some of whom, though the major part were loyal emigrants, came hither for the purpose of maintaining a closer communication with the seditious clubs, and for directing the efforts

of their members to the subversion of the constitution. This bill caused a great deal of discussion in both Houses, and occasioned some further declaration of sentiment, on the part of Mr. Fox, and of those who had seceded from his party, respecting the present state of public affairs, both in England and in France, which only served to confirm the difference already known to exist between them. Mr. Burke said, that the exultation which Mr. Fox had manifested on the success of the French was totally inconsistent with the dread which he had expressed of the aggrandizement of France; because her aggrandizement was both the object and the consequence of her successes. He expatiated, with his usual energy, on the nature of French fraternization; and quoted the speech of M. Dupont in the Convention, to show that atheism was the first fruits of French liberty. This man had profligately declared the religion of Jesus Christ to be unfit to be tolerated in a republic, because it was a monarchical religion, and preached subjection and obedience to God! And the Convention received the declaration with loud applause. He pathetically deplored the natural effects of such systematized profligacy, which went to deprive man of all happiness in life, and of all consolation in death. He considered the Alien bill as calculated to save the country, for, although the number of suspicious aliens in the kingdom at this time might be small, yet it should be remembered that the horrid massacres at Paris, in the preceding autumn, had been perpetrated by a body of men not exceeding 200. He averred that, at that very moment, 3000 daggers, of a peculiar construction, were manufacturing at Birmingham, under the orders of an individual. How many of these were intended for exportation, and how many were designed for home consumption, had not yet been ascertained. He then produced one of these

daggers, and threw it on the floor, exclaiming, "These are the presents which France designs for you—by these would she propagate her freedom and fraternity. But may Heaven avert her principles from our minds, and her daggers from our hearts!" The debates on the bill were renewed in its different stages, when Mr. Fox took the lead in opposing it; but it was finally carried by a decisive majority.

The republican government appeared, during this period, earnestly desirous of conciliating the favour of this country, and averting a war. An event, however, shortly took place, which added greatly to the horror already excited in England by the atrocities of the French revolution, and called forth renewed expressions of loyalty and attachment to the constitution from all parts of the kingdom. The Convention was divided into two parties, one of which did not disguise their intention of bringing the King to trial, whilst the moderate party as anxiously meditated to save him, which was a sufficient reason for their antagonists to resolve upon his ruin. This attempt was at once so incompatible with every thing that had long been considered as forming the French character, so devoid of every shadow of justice, and so repugnant to every principle of true policy, that it was scarcely possible to believe, notwithstanding the enormities which had previously taken place, that it could be seriously meditated, much less that the people, the armies, and the constituted authorities of France, would have permitted its accomplishment. Ever since the massacre of the 2d of September, 1792, the Mountain party, or Anarchists, as they were called, had been labouring to wash away the remembrance of their own guilt on that fatal day, in the blood of their Sovereign; and in the month of October various motions were introduced into the Conven-

tion, and carried by overwhelming majorities, sometimes by acclamation, for the purpose of bringing the King to trial and punishment; and though these measures were generally opposed by the Girondist party, their eloquence and influence were found insufficient to restrain that implacable and sanguinary disposition, which had taken possession of the breasts of their rivals, and communicated itself to a great part of the population of the metropolis. About this period a discovery was made, which heightened the popular resentment against the unfortunate Sovereign, and led to the most important consequences. A workman, who had been employed to form an iron chest or closet in the wall of the Thuilleries, revealed the fact to Roland, the minister of the home department, and conducted him to the place which contained the sacred deposit. This chest was found to contain a great number of correspondences; and a committee consisting of 24 members of the Convention was therefore chosen to inspect the papers, and prepare the act of accusation. On the 6th of November Valaze read the report; the discussion upon which was immediately followed by the introduction of a question, the most embarrassing to his accusers, and to the Convention: viz. whether the King was not by the constitution invested with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistently with justice, he, whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial? This objection was strangely overruled by the Convention, who in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *ex post facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to those rights of man which the nation had so solemnly proclaimed. Immediately on the act of accusation being passed, the King was forcibly separated from his family; and, contrary to the

practice in all criminal cases, in almost every civilized country, it was decreed that Louis should be brought before the Convention without previous notice or preparation. On the 11th of December the unfortunate monarch was ordered to the bar of the Convention, and, the act of accusation having been read, he was required by the president, Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. After a trial in which the forms of justice, and the principles of law, were violated without scruple and without reserve, the unfortunate Louis, whose benevolence of heart and mildness of character merited a better fate, was doomed to the scaffold. His execution took place on the 21st of January, and in his last moments he displayed that Christian patience, resignation, and fortitude, which a consciousness of innocence, and a firm confidence in the promises of God, are alone competent to inspire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Progress towards hostilities between England and France—Departure of M. Chauvelin—Lord Auckland's memorial to the States General—Royal message on French affairs, and debates thereon—The French declare war against England and Holland—The King's message, acquainting the Commons therewith—Address—Mr. Fox's motion to ascertain the precise grounds of war—Mr. Grey's motion for peace—Barracks—Mr. Sheridan's motion for an inquiry respecting sedition—Message on German auxiliaries—Ways and means—Traitorous Correspondence Bill—The French propose to treat for peace, but receive no reply—Subsidy to Sardinia—Numerous bankruptcies, and aid given for relief of commerce—Motions of censure on Lord Auckland—Mr. Grey's motion for Parliamentary reform—East India charter—Slave trade—Bill to relieve Roman Catholics of Scotland—Board of agriculture—Hastings's trial—Parliament prorogued—Proceedings of Irish Parliament—Military transactions on the Continent—Capture of Pondicherry and Tobago—Insurrection of the royalists in Britany and Poitou—The French Convention declares war against Spain—Proceedings of the two leading parties in France—Death of Marat.

THE melancholy fate of Louis the Sixteenth greatly increased the feeling and detestation with which the principles and practices of the French revolutionists were very generally viewed in this country, and the approach to open hostility became too apparent, on both sides, to leave any doubt of the event. In England it was expected that a general confederacy of the principal powers of Europe must, in the end, prove successful against

a new government, full of phrensy and faction ; and in France, in addition to the confidence already inspired by victory, an opinion prevailed, that so much disaffection to the established government existed in Great Britain, as could not fail to overturn it in case of a rupture ; but so far was this from being the fact, that the war which succeeded was undoubtedly popular in its commencement, the advocates of revolutionary principles being comparatively few in number and influence. Prior to the 10th of August, 1792, when the royal power was suspended in France, the new doctrines promulgated there were viewed by a very considerable portion of the British nation as the laudable exertions of liberty against despotism ; but the atrocities which succeeded were so appalling, that almost every one shrunk from avowing the principles, lest he should be thought favourable to the acts by which they were accompanied. Before that period, also, the British court manifested a friendly disposition towards the new constitution in that country ; but, when the deposition of the monarch was no longer disguised by the party which had acquired the ascendancy, a change in the conduct of the British Cabinet began to display itself, which became more visible as the desire of propagating republican doctrines, and of exciting the people of the neighbouring states against their governments, became more apparent.

On the 27th of December a memorial was presented by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, stating that the executive council of the French republic had authorized him to demand, with openness, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power ; at the same time expressing a strong desire to remain in peace. In allusion to the decree of the 19th of November, he denied that the French republic would favour insurrections or excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever, and declared that France would

not attack Holland so long as she adhered to the principles of her neutrality. On the 31st, Lord Grenville in reply acquainted M. Chauvelin that, as all official communication with France had been suspended since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, he could only be treated with under a form neither regular nor official; his lordship, however, said, that if France was really desirous of maintaining peace with England, she must renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and confine herself within her own territory. In answer to this letter, M. le Brun, minister of foreign affairs, transmitted a memorial in the name of the executive council, on the 4th of January, 1793, repeating the assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony, and stating that they had sent credential letters to M. Chauvelin, to enable him to treat according to the severity of diplomatic forms. France, they repeated, renounced all conquests, and her occupation of the Netherlands would continue no longer than the war. The explanations contained in this paper were deemed unsatisfactory by Lord Grenville; M. Chauvelin's letters of credence were rejected; and on the 24th of January he was ordered to quit the kingdom within eight days. On the 25th the English ambassador at the Hague, Lord Auckland, addressed a memorial to the States General, in which were the following remarkable expressions:—"Not four years ago some wretches, assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the security, happiness, and consolation of the human race. Their destructive projects have but too well succeeded. But the effects of the new system which they endea-

voured to introduce served only to show the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events which so rapidly followed each other, since that epoch, surpass in atrocity all which have ever polluted the pages of history. Property, liberty, security, even life itself, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are slaves to the most licentious passions—of rapine, enmity, and ambition.” The state of the whole European world at this crisis could not be contemplated without the deepest anxiety. War, at all times to be deplored, was more to be avoided when the absolute necessity for our interference was not sufficiently apparent. We had formed treaties with monarchs who had ascended thrones stained with blood; we had beheld with indifference the shameful partition of Poland; and although the excesses which had attended the French revolution could not be viewed without horror, there was nothing directly affecting England which might not possibly have been removed by negotiation; indeed, if it could have been foreseen that the wars of the French revolution would have been so long and desolating—attended with such a cost of blood and treasure—it cannot be doubted, that both ministers and people would have been more earnest in their endeavours to avert such a calamity. The soundest politicians that have directed the public affairs of this country, Burleigh, Clarendon, Walpole, and Chatham, have all declared against continental wars and continental alliances, which, even in their time, were represented as draining Britain of its wealth. Could either of these great men have imagined the possibility of that accumulation of national debt which the events that we are now recording occasioned, what would have been their predictions?

On the 28th of January, a message from the King was sent to both Houses of Parliament, informing them that he had given directions for laying before

them copies of several papers, which had been received from M. Chauvelin by the secretary of state, and the answers thereto, and likewise a copy of an order made by his Majesty in council, and transmitted by his Majesty's commands to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris. In the present situation of affairs, his Majesty thought it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and relied on the known affection and zeal of the House of Commons, to enable him to take the most effectual measures, in the present important juncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions; for supporting his allies; and for opposing views of aggrandizement and ambition on the part of France, which would be, at all times, dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but were peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles which led to the violation of the most sacred duties, and were utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

On the 1st of February, the very day on which a decree was unanimously passed by the National Convention, declaring the republic of France at war with the King of Great Britain and the Stadtholder of Holland, this message was taken into consideration by the House of Commons, when Mr. Pitt took an extensive view of the subjects, both foreign and domestic, to which the message related. In the course of his speech, and in illustration of the sentiments and designs of the French rulers, he read a letter from one of them, Monge, addressed to the friends of liberty in the different sea-ports of France, and bearing date the 31st of December, 1792, only four days after a communication from Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, which complained that a harsh construction had been put by the British ministry on the conduct of France, and professed the strongest

friendship for Great Britain. In this letter England and Spain were represented as two tyrannical governments, which, after persecuting the patriots in their own territories, thought they should be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis; but the people of France would not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant. "The King and his Parliament mean to make war against us! Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men show their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers, the French. Well! we will fly to their succour; we will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there 50,000 caps of liberty: we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren: the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea." Such was the declaration of the sentiments of the minister of the marine; a declaration which separated the King and the Parliament from the people, who were called republicans. What faith could be put in assurances, given on the part of France by Chauvelin on the 27th of December, when, in four days after, a member of the French government was found writing such a letter? It was highly proper, therefore, said Mr. Pitt, to reject such explanations as those which had been offered only to deceive. The conduct of France was inconsistent with the peace and liberty of Europe; the French had given no satisfaction with respect to the question at issue: they had, indeed, offered what they called explanations, but their principles, and the whole tenour of their conduct, were such, that no faith could be put in their declarations. Instead of giving satisfaction on the distinct articles on which we had a right to claim a clear and precise explanation, and instead of showing any desire to abandon their views of conquest, to return within

their ancient limits, and to set barriers to the progress of their destructive arms, and to their principles, still more destructive—instead of doing this, they had, by way of explanation, avowed their determination to persist in those practices which constituted the very ground of complaint. If France was really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights. Unless she consented to these terms, whatever might be the wishes of the British nation for peace, the final issue must be war. But, as to the time when the war was to commence, if there were yet any possibility of satisfactory explanation, and security for the future, it was not, to the last moment, precluded. Mr. Pitt said, however, that he should disguise his sentiments to the House, if he stated that he thought an accommodation in any degree probable. The country had always been desirous of peace : it was so still, but of such a peace as might be real and solid, and consistent with the interests and dignity of Britain, and with the general security of Europe. War, whenever it came, would be preferable to peace without honour, without security, and incompatible either with the external safety or internal happiness of the country. Mr. Pitt, after he had fully developed his sentiments on the important question at issue, moved an address, thanking his Majesty for his communication ; offering him the heartfelt condolence of the House, on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris ; expressing their sense of the aggressive and ambitious conduct of France ; declaring their opinion of the necessity of a vigorous opposition to such conduct, and to the principles out of which it arose ; and promising to

make the necessary provision for the further augmentation of the national forces by sea and land.

A very animated debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Fox declared his opinion of the non-existence of any danger to this country, and strongly deprecated a war. The crimes, the murders, and the massacres, that had been committed in France, he did not view with less horror than those who made them the perpetual theme of their declamation: the condemnation and execution of the King he pronounced an act as disgraceful as any that history recorded; but the general maxim of policy always was, that the crimes perpetrated in one independent state were not cognizable by another. The people were the sovereigns in every state; they had a right to change the form of their government, and a right to cashier their governors for misconduct, as the people of this country cashiered James the Second, not by a Parliament, or any regular form known to the constitution, but by a Convention speaking the sense of the people. That Convention produced a Parliament and a King. They elected William to a vacant throne, not only setting aside James, whom they had justly cashiered for misconduct, but his innocent son. Again, they elected the house of Brunswick, not individually, but by dynasty; and that dynasty to continue while the terms and conditions on which it was elected were fulfilled, and no longer. He could not admit the right of doing all this but by acknowledging the sovereignty of the people as paramount to all other laws. War, it was to be lamented, was a passion inherent in the nature of man; and it was curious to observe what at various periods had been the various pretexts. In ancient times wars were made for conquest. To these succeeded wars for religion; and the opinions of Luther and Calvin were attacked with all the fury of superstition and of

power. The next pretext was commerce; and it would probably be allowed that no nation that made war for commerce ever found the object accomplished on concluding peace. Now we were to make war about opinions: what was this but recurring again to an exploded cause? for a war about principles in religion was as much a war about opinions, as a war about principles in politics. Of all wars he dreaded that the most which had no definite object, because of such a war it was impossible to see the end. The address upon this occasion was carried without a division.

A few days afterwards, intelligence was received that France had declared war against Great Britain and Holland; and on the 11th of February, 1793, a royal message was delivered to the two Houses of Parliament, announcing that “the Assembly, now exercising the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty’s subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his Majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his Majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the House of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war; and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of

such general concern, his Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe." Upon this occasion, Mr. Pitt adverted to those insults which the French supposed they had previously received from England, and which they stated as grounds for their declaration of war; namely, "that the King of England has not ceased, especially since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being evil-disposed towards the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads. That the cabinet of St. James's has ceased since the same period to correspond with the French ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the heretofore King of the French. That, since the opening of the National Convention, the said cabinet has refused to resume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the power of the Convention. That it has refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credit in its name. That the said court had caused to be stopped several boats and ships loaded with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportations to other countries were free." After examining the several articles of the French declaration, Mr. Pitt concluded with asserting, that he found in it nothing but pretexts and allegations too weak to require refutation. We had in every instance, he said, observed the strictest neutrality with respect to France: we had pushed to its utmost extent the system of temperance and moderation: we had waited to the last moment for satisfactory explanation. He then moved the address to the throne. Mr. Fox contended that every step

on our part had seemed to indicate a desire to break with France. To have continued Earl Gower at Paris, after the event of the 10th of August, would have implied no recognition of the validity of the government which succeeded to the monarchy, nor approbation of their proceedings: and it was certainly more eligible to treat in a direct than an indirect mode with those who exercised the powers of government. As the prohibition of exporting corn to France, when it was allowed to other countries, was a positive infraction of the subsisting treaty, and the order received by M. Chauvelin to depart the kingdom was an act of open hostility on our part, he could not allow the declaration of war to be an unprovoked aggression on that of France; he moved, therefore, an amendment to the proposed address, but it was negatived without a division.

Notwithstanding the predominant voice for war which now prevailed in and out of Parliament, this extremity appeared, to the opposition, a greater evil than any with which the nation was threatened; and Mr. Fox, who spared no exertion of his eloquence to avert the evil, introduced, on the 18th of February, a series of resolutions, stating that war with France, on the grounds alleged, was neither for the honour nor the interest of this country; that ministers, in their late negotiations with the French government, had not taken the proper means for procuring an amicable redress of the grievances complained of; and that it was their duty to advise his Majesty against entering into engagements which might prevent a separate peace. Mr. Fox alleged that his object in making these motions was to pronounce a declaration of the precise grounds upon which gentlemen had voted for the war, for from many circumstances he was well persuaded, that the real objects of our ministers in going to war were those which they disclaimed;

and that those which they avowed were only pretexts. The motion, after a warm debate, was rejected by 270 against 44. A motion by Mr. Grey, on the 21st of February, for an address to his Majesty, expressing at great length the opinion that the differences between this country and France might have been adjusted by negotiation, and requesting him to embrace the first opportunity of restoring peace, was negatived without a division.

The erection of barracks in different parts of the kingdom being considered by many as unconstitutional, Mr. M. A. Taylor, on the 22d of February, brought the subject before Parliament, when, after quoting various opinions to prove the illegality of the measure, he said, that the whole system of ministers showed a design to curb and overawe the people by the bayonet and the sword, instead of applying, if necessary, the wholesome correction of the laws. He did not enter into any argument with respect to the King's right, in virtue of his prerogative, of erecting barracks; but he thought it the duty of ministers to have informed the House of their intention to do so, and of the reasons which induced them to think it a measure either prudent or necessary. He concluded with moving, "that it is the opinion of this House that the uniform and persevering opposition of our ancestors, from time to time, to the erecting barracks in this country, was founded upon a just sense of the true principles of our most excellent constitution; and that the opinion has been justified, upon high legal and political authority, that the soldiers should live intermixed with the people, in order that they might be connected with them; and that no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses, should be allowed." The motion was rejected.

Mr. Sheridan, on the 4th of March, moved, that the House should, on the succeeding Monday, re-

solve itself into a committee, to consider of the seditious practices, &c. referred to in his Majesty's speech. The object of his motion he stated to be, an inquiry into the truth of those reports which asserted the existence of sedition in this country, and also to know whether the language made use of by his Majesty's ministers upon the subject was not at least premature. Mr. Windham said it was notorious that the country, at the period alluded to, teemed with seditious publications: but Mr. Fox desired to be convinced; he was still incredulous, and should vote for inquiry. Mr. Sheridan's motion, however, was negatived without a division.

On the 6th of March a message from the King was presented to Parliament, stating that he had engaged a body of his electoral troops in the service of Great Britain, for the purpose of assisting his allies, the States General, and that he had directed an estimate of the charge to be laid before the House. In a committee of supply, on the 11th, Mr. Pitt brought forward his budget for the current year, estimating the total of the expenses at 11,182,213*l.* and of the ways and means at 8,299,696*l.* The deficiency he proposed to raise by loan, and to defray the interest by making permanent the temporary taxes imposed upon occasion of the Spanish armament. In the course of his speech, Mr. Pitt made some remarks which show how little he then contemplated the excessive increase of the national debt, and of the taxation consequent thereon, which has since taken place. "I do not think it useless (said he) to suggest some observations with respect to this war in which we are engaged. The excess of the permanent revenue, if kept up, is no less than 900,000*l.* above the peace establishment; which, *even if destroyed by war*, will leave the country in possession of all its ordinary revenue. This 900,000*l.* I have not taken into my reasoning or calculations, because I

was desirous to leave it as a security against those contingencies to which war is liable." The sum borrowed was 4,500,000*l.*; and the terms were, that, for every 72*l.* advanced to the public, the lender should be entitled to 100*l.* stock, bearing 3 *per cent.* Mr. Pitt said that he expected to have made better terms for the loan, but he had not received two offers on the occasion. Among other resources, the sum of 675,000*l.* was agreed to be raised by lottery, after a debate in which several regulations were laid down to diminish the practice of insurance: the principle of the measure, however, again excited considerable opposition.

On the 15th of March, the Attorney-General, Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord-Chancellor Eldon, introduced his "Traitorous Correspondence Bill," by which it was not only, according to precedent, declared to be high treason to supply the existing government of France with military stores, &c. but to purchase lands of inheritance in France, to invest money in any of the French funds, to underwrite insurances upon ships and goods bound from France to any part of the world, or to go from this country to France, without a license under the privy seal. It likewise prohibited the return of such British subjects as were already there, unless on giving security to the government. This bill met with much opposition, and several of its more obnoxious clauses were modified in the course of its progress. In the Lords it was also rigorously opposed, and received several alterations, which were agreed to by the Commons, and the bill finally passed into a law.

On the 2d of April, M. le Brun, minister of foreign affairs in France, addressed a letter to Lord Grenville, stating that the French republic was desirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war dreadful to humanity, and requesting a passport for a person vested with full

powers for that purpose to the court of London. In a separate letter he named M. Maret as the proposed plenipotentiary of France, should this intimation produce the desired effect: the present state of affairs, however, did not, it appears, permit the British government to accede to such an overture, no notice whatever being taken of the application: on the contrary, a treaty was about this time concluded with the King of Sardinia, by which England bound herself to furnish to his Sardinian Majesty a subsidy of 200,000*l. per annum*, to be paid three months in advance, and not to conclude a peace with the enemy, without comprehending in it the entire restitution of all the dominions belonging to this monarch previously to the commencement of the war.

When Parliament met, after the Easter recess, its attention was attracted by the unusual number and extent of the bankruptcies which had taken place since the commencement of the war. A select committee was immediately appointed to report their opinion to the House on the best means of applying a remedy to this evil, and they recommended an issue of exchequer bills, to the amount of 5,000,000*l.*, to commissioners nominated for the purpose, for the assistance and accommodation of such mercantile persons as might apply, and who should give proper security for the sums that might be advanced on interest, for a time to be limited. This relief proved extremely beneficial.

On the 25th of April Mr. Sheridan called the attention of the House to the late memorial of Lord Auckland to the States General; which, in his view of the subject, implied that the war was carried on for the purpose of extermination. He accordingly moved an address to his Majesty, expressive of the displeasure of the House at the memorial in question; and stating, that the minister who presented

it had departed from the principles on which the House had concurred in the measures for the support of the war. Mr. Pitt defended Lord Auckland, and maintained the right of Britain to repel the unjust attacks of France; to chastise and punish her; and to obtain indemnification for the past, and security for the future. The motion of Mr. Sheridan was rejected by 211 against 36. Lord Stanhope's motion in the Peers, similar to Mr. Sheridan's, ended in an amendment, by Lord Grenville, pronouncing the memorial conformable to the sentiments of his Majesty, and consonant to those principles of justice and policy which it became the honour and dignity of the nation to express; which was carried without a division.

On the 6th of May Mr. Grey brought forward his promised motion for a reform in the representation. He commenced by observing, in reply to the objection of this being an improper time for reform, that it would be equally rational in times of prosperity and adversity, in times of war and of peace. If our situation happened to be prosperous, it was then asked, whether we could be more than happy, or more than free? In the season of adversity, on the other hand, all reform or renovation was deprecated, from the pretended risk of increasing the evil and pressure of our situation. Hence it would appear that the time for reform never yet had come, and never would come. By arguments such as these had reform been hitherto combated; and by the like he believed it ever would be attacked, until some dreadful convulsion should take place, which might threaten even the constitution itself with annihilation. He quoted an opinion given judicially by Lord Thurlow, on an appeal from Scotland, respecting the right of voters at elections—that if the question could be tried in a court of law in England, as it was in Scotland, he was convinced that

an English court would not be satisfied that a nobleman's steward should go down to a borough, with ten or twelve pieces of parchment in his hand, containing each the qualification for a vote, and, having assembled a sufficient number of his master's tenants round a table, should distribute among them the parchments; then propose a candidate; and afterwards collect these parchments, and declare his lord's friend duly elected for the borough. These elections Lord Thurlow called a mockery. Mr. Erskine said that the only remedy for the abuses complained of in the numerous petitions which had been presented was to simplify and equalize the franchise of election, to make each body of electors too large for individual corruption, and the period of choice too short for temptation; and, by the subdivision of the places of election, to bring the electors together without confusion, and within every man's reach. Sir William Young declared his opinion, that the country had too much of a commercial turn, and that boroughs bought and controlled by men of property formed the only balance to the commercial influence, which was increasing by too rapid strides, and which ought to be checked. Mr. Francis quoted a letter from the Earl of Chesterfield to his son, purporting that he had offered 2,500*l.* for a secure seat in Parliament, but that the borough-jobber laughed, and told him that the rich East and West Indians had secured them all, at the rate of 3,000*l.* at least. Thus the case stood twenty years ago, and he was convinced that corruption had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. Mr. Pitt explained his former motives for being friendly to a parliamentary reform, and his objections against it at the present moment. If the principle of individual suffrage pointed at in several of the petitions was to be carried to its utmost extent, it went, he said, to

subvert the peerage, and to depose the King ; and, *in fine*, to extinguish every hereditary distinction, and every privileged order, and to establish that system of equalizing anarchy announced in the code of French legislation, and attested in the blood of the massacres at Paris. Mr. Fox observed, that as Lord Foppington in the play said, "I begin to think that when I was a commoner I was a very nauseous fellow," so Mr. Pitt began to think that when he was a reformer he must have been a very foolish fellow : the objection to the time for reform he called a fallacy, a mere pretext for putting off what the House could not help seeing to be necessary, but felt unwilling to begin. The debate occupied two days, when the motion for referring the petitions to a committee was negatived by 282 against 41.

In the course of the session Mr. Dundas brought in a bill, which, soon after, passed into an act, to renew the charter of the East India Company for twenty years, upon terms which varied little from the former charter. Mr. Wilberforce made several unsuccessful motions for the abolition of the slave trade, but the formality in examining evidence at the bar of the House of Lords procrastinated this business, and left it still in suspense. A bill to relieve the Roman Catholics of Scotland from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed upon them by acts which incapacitated them from holding or transmitting landed property, was passed without opposition ; and towards the close of the session 3,000*l. per annum* was voted for the establishment of a board of agriculture, on the recommendation of Sir John Sinclair.

The trial of Mr. Hastings was resumed on the 15th of February, and during the session the court sat twenty-two days, in which time the counsel for the prisoner completed the defence set up by them

on the three last articles, viz. Begums, presents, and contracts; after which Mr. Hastings addressed the court, praying that their lordships would order the trial, now past its legal process, to continue to its final conclusion during the present session. On the 18th of April a petition was presented to the House, complaining of the enormity of the delays which had taken place, and earnestly repeating his request; the further proceedings, however, were adjourned till the ensuing session.

On the 21st of June the King prorogued the Parliament; on which occasion his Majesty noticed the rapid and signal successes which had, in an early period of the campaign, attended the operations of the combined armies; the respectable and powerful force which he had been enabled to employ by sea and land; and the measures which he had concerted with other powers for the effectual prosecution of the war; all of which afforded the best prospect of a happy issue to the important contest in which we were engaged.

The Parliament of Ireland was convened at Dublin by the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, on the 10th of January. The English cabinet, conceiving that some measures of redress must now be adopted in relation to the Catholics, instructed his lordship, in the course of his speech to the two Houses at the opening of the present session, thus to express himself:—"I have it in particular command from his Majesty to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be the most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment, among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's Catholic subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his Majesty trusts that the situation of his Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the con-

sideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his Parliament." Early in March the Bill of Relief was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hobart. Its chief enacting clause enabled the Catholics to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices, and places of trust or profit under the crown, under certain restrictions,—that it should not be construed to extend to enable any Roman Catholic to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to fill the office of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor, or Judge in either of the three courts of Record or Admiralty, or keeper of the privy-seal, secretary of state, lieutenant or custos rotulorum of counties, or privy-counsellor, or master in Chancery, or a general on the staff, or sheriff or sub-sheriff of any county, &c. The bill passed with few dissentient voices; and, though it stopped short of full emancipation, it was supposed to be all that the executive government could, at this time, without too violent an exertion, effect; and upon this account it was received with gratitude and satisfaction. As a further concession to Ireland, a Libel Bill passed, similar to that of Mr. Fox in England; the power of the crown to grant pensions on the Irish establishment was limited to the sum of 80,000*l.*; and certain descriptions of placemen and pensioners were excluded from the privilege of sitting in the House of Commons. Also, the King declared his acceptance of a limited sum, fixed at 225,000*l.* for the expenses of his civil list, in lieu of the hereditary revenues of the crown. Alien and Traitorous Correspondence Bills, analogous to those of England, were likewise passed; as was a bill "to prevent the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, &c. to the King, or either House of Par-

liament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church or state."

In the winter of 1792 General Dumouriez had proposed to the Executive Council to take possession of Maestricht, without which, he alleged, neither the passage of the Meuse nor the territory of Liege could be defended; engaging, by manifesto, to restore it to the Dutch at the end of the war. As soon as war had been decided upon, General Dumouriez hastened to put into execution the plan he had formed, to advance with a body of troops, posted at the Moerdyke, and, masking Breda and Gertruydenburg on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dordt, and thus penetrate at once into the heart of Holland. General Miranda had directions, leaving General Valence before Maestricht, to march with all expedition to Nimeguen, in order to oppose the expected invasion of the Prussians on that side. Dumouriez, assembling his army in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, entered the Dutch territory on the 17th of February, 1793. On the 24th Breda surrendered, through the cowardice or treachery of its governor, Count Byland, almost on the first summons; the fort of Klundert was taken, after a brave defence, on the 26th; and nine days afterwards Gertruydenburg followed the example of Breda: but Williamstadt made an obstinate resistance; and, while the French troops were still engaged in the siege of this little fortress, intelligence arrived, from the eastern frontier of the Netherlands, which materially changed the aspect of the war. On the 1st of March General Clairfait, having suddenly passed the Roer in the night, attacked the French posts on that side, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loss of 2000 men. Next day the Archduke, brother to the Emperor of Germany, carried several bat-

teries, and took nine pieces of cannon. On the 3d, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, who had highly distinguished himself in the war with the Turks, obtained a signal advantage over General Valence and his army, driving them from Aix-la-Chapelle to the vicinity of Liege, with the loss of 5000 men, and twenty pieces of cannon. The siege of Maestricht was immediately raised; and, at midnight, on the 4th, General Miranda gave orders for retreating to Tongres, whence the French armies were again compelled to fall back to St. Tron, where Miranda was joined by General Valence, who had by this time evacuated Liege and its territory; and on the 8th they moved towards Tirlemont. Dumouriez now arrived to take the command in person, leaving the conduct of affairs on the northern frontier to General de Flers. The Prussians advanced by way of Bois-le-Duc. A corps of 12,000 Hanoverians, reinforced by several thousand British troops, with the Duke of York at their head, arrived nearly at the same time in Holland; and the siege of Williamstadt was raised. Instead of proceeding to Dordt, De Flers was compelled to throw himself into Breda, the main body of the army retiring precipitately to Antwerp. On the 18th of March a general engagement took place on the plains of Neerwinden, which continued from morning till evening, when the French were totally routed, with considerable loss. The French continued retreating; and, on the 21st, General Dumouriez was posted near Louvain. Here a virtual suspension of hostilities took place, and the French army were allowed to march back to their own frontier, without molestation, on condition of evacuating Brussels, and all the other towns of Brabant, &c. in their possession.

On the 27th General Dumouriez held a conference with an Austrian officer of distinction, Colonel Mack, to whom he intimated his design of marching

against Paris, with a view of re-establishing the constitutional monarchy of 1791: and it was agreed that the Imperialists should act merely as auxiliaries in the accomplishment of this plan; not advancing, except in case of necessity, beyond the frontier of France. The designs of Dumouriez did not, however, pass unsuspected at Paris, and three commissioners from the executive power had been despatched to Flanders, under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium. In this interview Dumouriez expressed himself with great violence against the Jacobins. "They would ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." He styled the Convention a horde of ruffians; and declared that this assembly would not exist three weeks longer; that France must have a King; adding that, since the battle of Gemappe, he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. On the return of the commissioners to Paris, Dumouriez was summoned to appear at the bar of the Convention, and M. Bournonville was appointed to supersede him. Four new commissioners also were deputed to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all officers who should fall under their suspicion. On their arrival at Lisle, March the 28th, the commissioners transmitted their orders to General Dumouriez, to appear before them, and answer the charges against him: the general, however, having fully arranged his plan, replied, that, in the present exigent circumstances, he could not leave the army for a moment; that, when he did enter Lisle, it would be in order to purge it of traitors; and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal. The commissioners now resolved to proceed to the camp; but they soon found how dangerous was the attempt to seize the person of a general at the head of his

army. On the 1st of April they arrived, in company with M. Bournonville, at St. Amand, the headquarters of General Dumouriez, and, being admitted to his presence, explained to him the object of their mission. After a long conference, the general, finding them inflexible in their purpose, gave the signal for a body of soldiers, who were in waiting, and ordered M. Bournonville and the four commissioners, in the number of whom was the noted M. Camus, immediately to be conveyed to General Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family of France.

Notwithstanding the popularity of Dumouriez, symptoms soon appeared in the army of high dissatisfaction at this act of violence. On the morning of the 3d Dumouriez repaired to the camp of Maulde, and addressed the troops, amidst the murmurs of many of the battalions. On the next day he departed with his suite for Condé, which fortress, with Valenciennes, he had engaged to put into the hands of the Austrians: but on the road he received intelligence that it would not be safe for him to enter the place; and, in making his retreat, he fell in with a column of volunteer guards, who called to him to surrender; but, trusting to the swiftness of his horse, he escaped, with great difficulty, to the quarters of General Mack, through a dreadful discharge of musketry. His example was followed by General Lamorliere, the Duc de Chartres, son of the Duke of Orleans, and some hundreds of private soldiers. On the following day appeared a proclamation from General Dumouriez, containing a recapitulation of his services to the French republic, an animated picture of the outrages of the Jacobins, and of the mischiefs to be apprehended from a continuation of anarchy in France, concluding with an exhortation to the French to restore the constitution of 1791, and a declaration on oath that he bore arms

only for that purpose. This proclamation was accompanied by a manifesto on the part of the Prince of Cobourg, now commander-in-chief of the armies of Austria, announcing that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries, in the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with the general, in giving to France her constitutional King, and the constitution she formed for herself. By this time, however, Antwerp, Breda, and the other conquests of France on the Dutch frontier, were evacuated; and a considerable change had taken place in the aspect of affairs. On the 8th of April a grand council was held at Antwerp, at which were present the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the grand pensionary, Vander Spiegel, the Prince of Cobourg, Counts Metternich, Stahremberg, &c. also the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan ambassadors. The whole plan of operations was now changed. At the same time a memorial was presented by Lord Auckland (April the 5th) to the States General, in which his lordship stated, in allusion to the capture of M. Camus, and the other conventional commissioners, "That the Divine vengeance, for the atrocious crime which had been by their High Mightinesses with horror foreseen, seemed not to have been tardy. Some of these detestable regicides are now," said his lordship, "in such a situation, that they can be subjected to the sword of the law; the rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war, are about to prepare new calamities. In short, every thing that we see happen induces us to consider as not far distant the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity. The undersigned, therefore, submit, to the enlight-

ened judgment and wisdom of your High Mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the pretended National Convention, or of the pretended Executive Council, who have directly or indirectly participated in the said crime; and, if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind." To this memorial the Dutch government declined any reply.

General Dampierre, an officer distinguished by his conduct and valour, was now provisionally appointed to the chief command, and in a short time he was enabled to lead his troops with confidence into action. From the middle of April to the 8th of May, a variety of partial, though sharp and bloody, engagements took place between the two armies, in which no decisive advantage was gained. On that day General Dampierre advanced in person to dislodge a large body of the enemy, posted near the wood of Vicoigne; but, exposing himself to the enemy's fire, his thigh was carried off by a cannon ball, and he died the following day. In this action the English troops were engaged in the field for the first time in this war, and behaved with all their characteristic intrepidity; but, by the inexperience of the Duke of York, their commander, being ordered to the attack of a strong post in the wood, where they were exposed to the fire of some masked batteries, they suffered so much that it was not thought expedient to make any official return of the killed and wounded. The siege of Valenciennes being now in contemplation of the Prince of Cobourg, it was determined by the allies to attempt an attack upon the fortified camp of Famars, which protected and covered that important fortress, Condé being already invested. At day-break, on the 23d of

May, the British and Hanoverians under their royal commander, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under the Prince of Cobourg and General Clairfait, made a joint assault upon the advanced posts of the French. The contest was severe, but the French were evidently worsted, and in the course of the night they abandoned their camp, retreating towards Bouchain and Cambray. This success enabled the allies to lay siege in form to Valenciennes. On the 1st of June General Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes; but he deemed himself unequal to the task of rendering effectual relief to that fortress, before which the trenches were opened on the 14th of that month; and, towards the beginning of July, the besiegers were able to bring 200 pieces of heavy artillery to play upon it. Mines and counter-mines innumerable were formed also in the course of this siege, both by the assailants and the garrison; and many fierce subterranean conflicts were carried on with various success. On the night of the 25th of July, however, those under the glacis and horn-work of the fortress were sprung, on the part of the besiegers, with complete success, and the English and Austrians seized the favourable moment for attacking the covered way, of which they made themselves masters. On the next day the place surrendered on honourable terms of capitulation, the Duke of York taking possession of it, in behalf of the Emperor of Germany. Nearly at the same time the garrison of Condé yielded themselves prisoners of war, after enduring all the rigours of famine; and Mentz submitted, not without a long and resolute resistance, to the arms of Prussia.

On the 8th of August the French were driven from the strong position they occupied behind the Scheldt, which was known by the name of Cæsar's

Camp, after which a grand council of war was held, wherein it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians, should form a distinct army, not dependent upon the co-operation of the Austrians. This was strongly opposed by the Prince of Cobourg and General Clairfait: the British army, however, conducted by the Duke of York, immediately decamped, and, on the 18th of August, arrived in the vicinity of Menin, where some severe contests took place, and the post of Lincelles, lost by the Dutch, was recovered at the point of the bayonet, with a signal display of spirit and intrepidity, by the English, though very inferior in force, led on by General Sir John Lake. Moving, with little resistance, towards Dunkirk, the trenches were opened before that fortress on the 24th; and the Duke of York, having entertained a secret correspondence with the Governor-General, O'Moran, flattered himself with obtaining speedy possession of the place: that officer, however, had been removed, and the duke lost so much time, from the delay in the arrival of the heavy artillery, and the want of the early co-operation of a naval force, that the French were enabled to make great preparations for the defence, before any progress had been made; and the result was, that the duke found himself obliged to raise the siege, leaving behind him his battering cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition. On the other side, General Clairfait invested the town of Quesnoy; and the Prince of Cobourg, who commanded the covering army, having defeated a body of troops which had been sent to its relief, the place surrendered on the 11th of September. The Austrians then laid siege to Maubeuge; but the French, under General Jourdan, attacked them in their trenches on the 15th of October, and, after sustaining a great loss, forced them to raise the siege. Various incursions were afterwards made by

the French into Maritime Flanders, but, unable to establish a footing there, they were compelled, once more, to retire within their own frontier. In the course of the year, Pondicherry, and all the French settlements in the east, were reduced by the British arms; and the island of Tobago, in the West Indies, besides some other possessions of less importance, were likewise wrested from their power.

To effect the subversion of the republican government in France, it was proposed to excite, by a bold and simultaneous effort, the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Britany and Poitou, now termed La Vendée and La Loire. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the Convention, immense numbers of emigrants had secretly repaired thither in the winter of 1792, and the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded every facility for receiving supplies of men and military stores, as well as for the co-operation of the naval powers. The first disturbances in these departments were considered, by the Convention, as a mere momentary effervescence, from the dislike of the populace to the new mode which had been adopted for filling the ranks of the army; but before the end of March the insurgents had assumed a formidable appearance, as to numbers, and their proceedings appeared to be the result of previous arrangement. They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the brother of the King, who had assumed the title of Regent. On the 23d of March the Convention was informed that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clisson, and had defeated General Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantes was besieged by them, and the number of royalists encamped before that city was estimated at not less than 40,000. In the

beginning of April, General Berruyere was appointed to command against the insurgents; but, notwithstanding all the exertions which the French revolutionary government could make, they had possessed themselves, before the end of April, of more than fifty leagues of the country, had defeated the republicans in two engagements, and taken a great number of prisoners, with an immense quantity of artillery and military stores.

After the melancholy death of Louis, it may well be supposed that the King of Spain could not be very favourably disposed towards the French nation, and it is not improbable that he meditated hostilities: the Convention, however, with that precipitancy which characterized all their measures, determined to anticipate his declaration, and, on the 7th of March, passed a decree of war against his Most Catholic Majesty, one cause of which was stated to be the zeal of that court in behalf of Louis. Ever since the deposition of that ill-fated monarch, two powerful parties, the Gironde and the Mountain, had divided the Convention. Brissot, Petion, Vergniaux, and their associates, almost all distinguished by their talents, formed the party of the Gironde. Republicans in principle, they had contributed to weaken the constitutional throne, but they had taken no active part in its overthrow. The revolutionists of the 10th of August, Danton, Robespierre, Chabot, Barbaroux, Fabre d'Eglantine, Couthon, and Collot d'Herbois, assumed the name of the Mountain, and aspired to reap the fruits of their treason, and to govern the republic which they had founded on the ruins of the throne. In the month of March, that infamous court, the Revolutionary Tribunal, was established, to take cognizance of all offences against the safety of the state, and to be fixed to Paris: the judges were to be chosen by the Convention, and the jury from the commune

of Paris : its sentences against persons absent were to have the same effect as if they were present, and from its decision there was no appeal. On the 7th of April a Committee of Public Safety was instituted by the Convention, invested with almost unlimited power—a power which was soon abused to the worst of purposes, and laid the foundation of a tyranny the most sanguinary and atrocious the world had ever witnessed. The defection of Dumouriez contributed in no small degree to the overthrow of the Gironde party, and the destruction of the members of the Bourbon family remaining in the power of the republicans. On the 7th of April it was decreed by the Convention that all the members of that family should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies, and that such of them as were not already in the Temple should be removed to Marseilles : the *citoyen* Duke of Orleans, though a member of the Convention, was included in this decree. A considerable part of the month of April was spent in discussing and digesting the declaration of rights, which was to serve as a preface to the new constitution. On the 10th of May the Convention took possession of their new hall in the Thuilleries, and on that day decreed the first article of the new constitution ; *viz.* “ the French republic is one and indivisible.” In the mean time, the divisions which had so long subsisted between these two parties approached rapidly to open and avowed hostility. The Mountain party had secured the attachment of the populace of Paris, and the Jacobin club, of which Marat was president, had become devoted to this faction. Even the virtues of the Girondists tended to accelerate their ruin ; their humane attempt to save the life of the devoted Louis being urged against them as an unpardonable crime, and as manifesting a culpable indifference to the cause

of freedom. On the 15th of April a petition was presented to the communes of the forty-eight sections of Paris, at the bar of the Convention, demanding that twenty-two of the deputies of the Gironde party should be impeached. This party, however, continued to have a preponderance in the Convention; and Marat, a furious leader of the Mountain party, having put his signature to a paper of the most sanguinary tendency, was accused by the Convention, and committed to the Abbey prison; but such was his influence over the people, whose passions were continually excited by his inflammatory publications, that in a few days he was acquitted by a jury, and returned to the hall of the Convention in triumph. At length, on the morning of the 31st of May, the commotion every where visible throughout the capital denoted an approaching crisis: Henriot, the commander of the national guard, a man entirely devoted to Robespierre, instead of taking the proper measures for the protection of the Convention, was a party in the plot against it, and many of the representatives were alarmed for their own safety. After the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated on purpose to restrain anarchy; a revolutionary army of sans-culottes; a decree of accusation against twenty-two Gironde deputies; and a diminution in the price of bread. They also insisted that certain deputies should be despatched to the south, to put a stop to the counter-revolution that prevailed there; and they at the same time suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of public contributions, and Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs; but the Convention still refused to sacrifice the victims demanded by the conspirators.

This, however, was the last effort; for, two days afterwards, the legislature, finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, was at length intimidated into compliance, and not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies, thirty-six in number, but proscribed those who endeavoured to avoid death by flight. The vanquished party had wished for a republican form of government, founded on the immutable basis of virtue: the triumphant faction, on the contrary, conceding to popular opinions, still maintained all the forms of a commonwealth, but, under the veil of liberty, introduced the most terrible despotism; and, although they immediately drew up a new and seductive constitution, they contrived to suspend all its benefits until the return of peace.

Several of the departments in the mean time took the alarm, and determined to avenge the outrages committed against their deputies. The city of Caen resolved not to acknowledge the Convention, or receive any of its decrees, until the imprisoned members were restored to their functions. The departments of Calvados, the Rhone, and the Loire, also avowed their determination to disown the Convention; and the first of these actually imprisoned three of the Jacobin deputies, who had been sent thither with a view of propagating their tenets, and supporting their cause. At this critical moment, too, a complete counter-revolution took place at Lyons; Marseilles was threatened with commotions; Toulon exhibited manifest symptoms of disaffection; and the cause of the Mountain for a moment appeared desperate. Several of the proscribed deputies, having escaped from their confinement, now sought an asylum at Nantes, Rennes, Bourdeaux, Caen, and Evreux. Others, abandoning an assembly in which cruelty and injustice preponderated, fled from Paris and joined them, and

a general insurrection of the provinces against the capital was immediately agreed upon. Many of the cities nominated commissioners for the purpose of concerting with the deputies from the districts, relative to the measures which the present critical state of affairs seemed to render necessary. Succours of men and of money were promised by all; and the archives of the capital of the Gironde, in which the most zealous of their partisans resided, are said to have contained decrees of adhesion and support on the part of no fewer than seventy-two departments; but this plan, alike destitute of uniformity and foresight, while it added to, and seemed to countenance, the ferocity of the Jacobins, distracted, and nearly proved fatal to, the republic. After the passions of the people were permitted to subside, few could be prevailed upon to embark in so desperate a cause; and a civil war soon began to appear odious to all, and peculiarly impolitic at such a critical period.

When the indignant provinces first thought of avenging the common cause, a number of the accused deputies assembled for the purpose of directing their movements: Buzot and Gorsas, who had not been seized, and Barbaroux and Petion, who escaped from arrest, headed, at Caen, the insurrection of the west: Louvet, who had distinguished himself by the energy of his writings and his speeches, flying from Paris, rejoined his friends, and found that eight coalesced departments had already nominated their commissioners; that Wimpffen, the gallant defender of Thionville, had been chosen as their leader, while De Puisaye was appointed by him to act as adjutant-general. Conscious that the success of their plan depended chiefly on the celerity of their motions, the Girondists wished the troops to begin their march immediately, and even proposed to advance to the capital, where

they knew that their friends were both numerous and formidable, at the head of the Britons and Normans alone ; but the general, insisting on the advantages likely to ensue from a delay that would enable him to increase the number of their partisans, contented himself with dispersing proclamations ; and, on being summoned to give an account of his conduct by the faction that had assumed the reins of government, he replied, that he would disclose his motives and intentions at the head of 60,000 men.

The proscribed deputies began to suspect that Wimpffen and De Puisaye were not only royalists, but secretly attached to the interests of a neighbouring nation, by means of which they wished to place one of the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors, and the former of these at last disclosed his mind freely, and proposed a junction with the army of La Vendée. On being pressed to advance directly to Paris, without waiting for the arrival of the departmental forces, Wimpffen at length marched towards Vernon, at the head of a small body of troops. The Jacobins, who had assembled some forces in that town, immediately sallied forth, and received them with a discharge of artillery. On this the whole of the insurgents betook themselves to flight, except a single battalion of 400 men from Finisterre, which, on seeing itself abandoned, retired in good order to Evreux, where the fugitives at length rallied. After this they were all reconducted to Caen, which the general now proposed to fortify, that they might there wait for the quotas of troops promised by the neighbouring departments ; but the exiled deputies, disgusted with his conduct, and seeing no prospect of success, refused their assent ; the armed citizens, actuated by the same motives, marched towards their respective districts ; Wimpffen and De Puisaye concealed themselves ; the forlorn representatives

betook themselves to flight; some perished by the guillotine; others by fatigue and famine; while the victorious party stained their triumph by a series of cruelty, injustice, and bloodshed.

Early in July an insurrection broke out at Lyons, and a congress of the department was convoked at that city, in which it was resolved to march a considerable force for the reduction of Paris; the Mountain party was declared to be outlawed; and the provisions destined for the armies were intercepted. The cities of Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into that famous confederacy for dissolving the Convention, which has since been distinguished by the name of Federalism. On the 12th the Marseillois issued a manifesto to the French nation, in which they declared that the situation of Paris was equivalent to the declaration of war against the whole republic; and they urged the people to join their standard, and assist in reducing the faction which had usurped the powers of the republic. On the 8th of July the Committee of Public Safety produced its report concerning the imprisoned deputies of the Convention: it charged Brissot, Petion, and some others, with being the constant favourers of royalty; it alleged that they had conspired to place a new monarch on the throne, some of them in the person of Louis Capet, and others in that of the Duke of York; Petion was accused of having signed the order, on the 10th of August, to fire on the people from the Thuilleries; and Roland was accused in general terms of persecuting the republicans. On these charges the Convention declared those who had fled from the decree of arrest traitors to their country, and they were put out of the protection of the law. These outrageous proceedings, on the part of the Mountain junto, necessarily produced a considerable reaction, which, in one memorable instance, was fatal to one

of the most violent of these incendiaries. A female, of the name of Charlotte Cordé, enthusiastically attached to the Gironde party, proceeded from Caen, in Normandy, to devote her life to what she considered as the cause of liberty and her country. Her object was the death of Marat, which, without much difficulty, she effected, though at the expense of her own life. The leaders of the faction, who thought every measure good that could be made subservient to their purpose, found this event too replete with favourable circumstances to be neglected. Marat, whom they had thrown aside to die at leisure, was now restored to more than his ancient honours, was proclaimed a martyr, and his death ordered to be lamented as an irreparable loss to the republic.

CHAPTER XIX.

Reform societies in Great Britain—Edinburgh Convention—Transportation of the secretary and two delegates—French affairs—Trial and execution of Queen Marie Antoinette—Other executions—The port and fleet of Toulon surrender to the English—Insurrection at Lyons defeated—Evacuation of Toulon—French Calendar—Extraordinary efforts to recruit the French armies—Operations on the frontiers of France—Meeting of Parliament—Augmentation of the army and navy—Motion against the war—Message respecting democratic societies, and suspension of the Habeas Corpus—State trials—Pop-gun plot—Acquittal of Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall—Motions respecting Muir and Palmer's conviction, and for the assimilation of the Scotch law to the English—Foreign troops landed in the Isle of Wight—Slave trade—Augmentation of the forces—Voluntary contributions in aid of the war—Enlistment of French emigrants—Supply—Motions against the war—M. la Fayette—Subsidy to Prussia—Motion for a new military test—Prorogation of Parliament—Changes in the ministry—Military operations on the Continent—Corsica annexed to the British crown—Lord Howe's victory—Other naval achievements—Capture of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe—Loss of the latter—Acquisitions in St. Domingo.

NOTWITHSTANDING the enormities which had been committed by the French government, the hope that the revolution would finally be the means of promoting the cause of liberty throughout Europe induced many persons in Great Britain to profess an

ardent admiration of its political principles, and the reform societies were, at this period, extremely active throughout the kingdom. In Scotland a party zealous for reform had projected what they termed a National Convention; and in October, 1793, a meeting was held in Edinburgh, which was attended by delegates from the London Corresponding Society, and from other societies of the same description in different parts of England and Ireland. The London Corresponding Society restricted its delegates to its original avowed object, the obtaining, by lawful means, universal suffrage and annual Parliaments; but it instructed them, at the same time, to enforce the duty of the people to resist any act of the Legislature repugnant to the original principles of the constitution. The Edinburgh Convention foolishly adopted all the forms, names, and proceedings of the French Jacobin clubs, with such difference and omissions only as their peculiar circumstances rendered necessary. The members hailed each other by the republican denomination of Citizen; they divided themselves into sections; appointed committees of organization, of instruction, of finance, of secrecy, and of emergency; called their meetings *Sittings*; granted honours of *sittings*; and dated their proceedings in the first year of the British Convention, one and indivisible. They, at first, assumed the distinctive appellation of the *General Convention of the Friends of the People*, but they afterwards took the name of the *British Convention of the Delegates of the People*, associated to obtain universal suffrage and annual Parliaments; they adopted means for assembling the delegates, at any time when it should be deemed necessary for the societies to act, in consequence of any measures of precaution or coercion which the government might adopt; and they were fully prepared to carry their doctrine of resistance into effect. When they were

thus emboldened, by their increased numbers, openly to avow their designs, the government thought it time to interrupt their proceedings. On the 5th and 6th of December the magistrates of Edinburgh repaired to two of the places of meeting, where they seized the papers, and took the secretary and some of the leading members into custody. Three of these were afterwards brought to trial, William Skirving, the secretary, and two of the delegates from the London Corresponding Society, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Gerald, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, and, being all found guilty, they were sentenced to be transported for fourteen years.

The Mountain party were now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one of which was denominated the *Committee of Public Safety*, the other the *Committee of General Safety*. The members ought to have been renewed every month; but the Convention, intimidated by an armed mob, had intrusted these committees with the fatal power of imprisoning and judging its members; any deputy, therefore, who should have been hardy enough to propose a change, would have been denounced as a traitor, and sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was the antechamber of death, and the very threshold of the grave.

The reigning party now proceeded to atrocities of which no former despotism afforded an example: its object appeared to be the extermination of all that was great and valuable in society: it attempted to reduce the community to one level—to degrade, that it might the more severely tyrannize over, its victims: even moderation itself became a crime to be expiated only by death, and virtue received the reward due to atrocious crimes. If the father afforded any support to his exiled son, if the daughter

wrote to her mother from her dungeon, the Revolutionary Tribunal doomed them to the scaffold. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by public decree, and an attempt was made to substitute for Christianity a sort of metaphysical Paganism. Those ecclesiastics who had seats in the Convention publicly abjured their creed, and were not ashamed to declare that they had hitherto deceived the world: the archbishop and clergy of Paris renounced the Christian religion, declaring that they owned no temple but the sanctuary of the laws, no God but Liberty, no gospel but the constitution: the Revolutionary Tribunal condemned, without distinction and without inquiry, all the victims whom the tyrants marked out for destruction: proscriptions daily increased, and France was filled with accusers, prisons, and executioners. The number of persons who perished, during this reign of terror, cannot be ascertained by any authentic documents; but the prisons were filled and emptied with a horrid rapidity, and the scaffolds flowed daily with blood. The victim first in rank, if not in time, was the ill-fated consort of Louis the Sixteenth, Queen Marie Antoinette. On the 1st of August she was suddenly removed to the prison of the Conciergerie, where she was treated as the meanest criminal; and, on the 15th of October, she appeared before the Tribunal to take her trial, or, to speak more correctly, to hear her doom pronounced. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the principal of which stated that she had directed her views to a counter-revolution. One of the most singular of them was, that, in conjunction with the Gironde faction, she induced the King and the Assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare; but the last charge was the most infamous, and the most incredible, *viz.* that,

like Agrippina, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son. The unfortunate Marie Antoinette heard the accusation with calmness, and, as she continued silent, the president called upon her for a reply, when with great dignity she answered, "I held my peace, because Nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge: but, since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me whether it be possible." Not one of the charges was proved; but, after consulting for about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the whole. With an unchanged countenance she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without uttering a single word—without addressing herself either to her judges or the audience. On the succeeding day, the 16th, at about 11 o'clock, she was taken to execution in the same manner as the other victims of this dreadful Tribunal: she ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step, and her behaviour at the awful moment of dissolution was decent and composed. Her body was interred in the same manner as that of her husband, in a grave filled with quick-lime.

The trial of the Queen had been immediately preceded by that of General Custine, who was charged with maintaining a secret correspondence with the enemy, and with leaving the garrison of Mentz unprovided with necessaries; with having disobeyed the orders of the Convention, and with not having exerted himself to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the allies. On these charges he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, which was carried into effect within twenty-four hours. On the 24th of October the accused deputies of the Gironde party were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, after a trial in which both the principles and forms of law were equally violated, were declared guilty of a conspiracy against

the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and condemned to the guillotine. One of the deputies, Valazé, after hearing his sentence, stabbed himself at the bar of the Tribunal; and, on the 30th, the others, to the number of twenty-one, with Brissot at their head, were conveyed to the *Place de la Revolution*, and executed. Among them were several of those who had been most active in dethroning the King, and establishing a republic. Valazé, who stabbed himself at the bar of the Tribunal, was the member who prepared the charges against the unfortunate Louis. Manuel, who had been active in dethroning the King on the 10th of August, and afterwards evinced much solicitude to preserve his life, was soon after brought to trial, and executed. The trial of General Houchard immediately succeeded: he was accused of not cutting off the retreat of the British forces from West Flanders. With the Revolutionary Tribunal accusation was synonymous with condemnation, and he also suffered by the guillotine. The veteran General Lucner, Bailly, the first mayor of Paris after the revolution, the accomplished Barnave, and Rabaut St. Etienne, also perished.

The condemnation of the Duke of Orleans, who had assumed the fantastical name of Philip Egalité, appears to have produced no sensations, either of horror or of commiseration, in any party; so completely does a profligate life extinguish the respect, and excite the indignation, of mankind. This wretched and unworthy member of the Bourbon family, who had given his vote against the life of the King, was executed on the evening of the 6th of November, and bore, with a magnanimity which would have done honour to a better character, the insults and reproaches of the populace. The celebrated Madame Roland, whose noble character was the object of general admiration, and whose attach-

ment to the party of the Gironde was the only crime alleged against her, was brought to the scaffold two days after the execution of the Duke of Orleans. When she was tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes to the statue of Liberty, near which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed, "O Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, the late minister of the interior, unable to bear the sad reflections which crowded upon him, put a period to his existence.

The formidable union which had taken place between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still subsisted, and threatened the speedy overthrow of the ruling tyranny; but this expectation proved fallacious. A considerable force was despatched against those insurgents, under General Cartaux, in the latter end of July; and, in the beginning of August, the Marseillois were driven from the department of Vaucluse, which they had previously occupied. On the 24th of August the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this success the Marseillois opened their gates, and submitted; but the people of Toulon, and the French Vice-Admiral Trugoff, entered into a negotiation with the English admiral, Lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, for the delivery of the port and fleet into the hands of the English, in trust for Louis the Seventeenth—a negotiation which after some difficulties was completed, and on the 23d of August 1500 men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of Fort Malgue, by means of a detachment under Captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. On this the French ships were warped into the inner road, according to agreement; and, the Spanish admiral having joined next day, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road; after

which 1000 Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison; Rear-Admiral Goodall was declared governor, and Rear-Admiral Gravina commandant of the troops. The condition on which this valuable arsenal was put into the hands of a British admiral was, that it was only to be considered as a deposit to be preserved for the use of the French King, Louis the Seventeenth, the inhabitants of Toulon declaring their intention of rejecting the Constitution recently completed by the Convention, and of adhering to that decreed by the Constituent Assembly of 1789. - It was further stipulated, that, when peace should be re-established in France, the ships and forts which should be put into the hands of the English should be restored to the French nation in the same state they were in when the inventory was delivered. The English immediately adopted the most sufficient means for placing Toulon in a state of complete defence: the adjacent hills were crowned with redoubts, the cross-fire from which seemed to interdict all approach; a new fort was constructed at Malbousquet; encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Equillete, and at Balaguier, the last of which was termed the Grand Camp by the English, and Little Gibraltar by the French; the redoubts were defended by heavy artillery, taken from the lower decks of the French line-of-battle ships; while a body of infantry from the Spanish army in the Rouissillon, 2000 Sicilian troops, under Brigadier-General Pignatelli, and a considerable detachment from the army of the King of Sardinia, consisting entirely of grenadiers and chasseurs, were sent to the succour of the garrison.

The surrender of this important sea-port induced the national commissioners to press the siege of Lyons with redoubled vigour, and on the 8th of October, after a most obstinate and gallant resistance, that city, having sustained a siege of fifty-

four days, and suffered almost as much from famine as the sword, was obliged to surrender. Collot d'Herbois and his associates having refused to grant any terms until the leaders of the insurrection had been delivered up, the chiefs, both civil and military, several of the principal inhabitants, and all those who considered themselves as proscribed by the Jacobins, to the amount of about 10,000, sallied forth from the city, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. A few waggons, containing the remnant of their scanty fortunes, and some four-pounders, followed this little army of fugitives, in the midst of which was to be seen a great number of females, determined not to abandon their husbands, and who, with their children in their arms, resolved to share their fate. Scarcely, however, had they entered the defiles of St. Cyr and St. Germain, when they found themselves surrounded by nearly 50,000 men; and, although they exhibited prodigies of valour upon this occasion, all resistance became vain, and the greater part perished. Nor was the fate of a great number of the inhabitants, who trusted to the mercy of the conquerors, more tolerable. One-fourth of the buildings had already been destroyed by the besiegers. The still more ferocious commissioners, not content with this, ordered the demolition of all the principal edifices; measures were actually taken to transport a large portion of the population to another place; and a decree enjoined that the miserable remnant of this ancient city, hitherto so famous throughout all Europe on account of its rich manufactures, was no longer to be recognised by its former name, but to receive that of *Commune Affranchie*. In addition to this, orders were given to erect a column with the following inscription, to perpetuate the resistance and disgrace of Lyons, as well as the vengeance of its enemies:—"Lyons made war upon the republic:

Lyons is no more!" The rage of the victors was not confined to the destruction of houses and temples. The Deputy Freron, on entering the devoted town, ordered a number of guillotines to be erected, and announced that terror was the order of the day; but he was surpassed in cruelty and ferocity by Collot d'Herbois, whose proconsulship in the south was one continued series of bloodshed.

The siege of Toulon was carried on, after the reduction of Lyons, with increased vigour. On the 14th of October an action took place between the garrison, who had marched out to the defence of the redoubt of Malbousquet, and the army of General Cartaux, in which the English and their allies lost about forty men, and the French about thirty. No return was made of the Toulonese who fell in the action. In the beginning of November General Cartaux was ordered to the command of the army in Italy, and General Dagobert was appointed commander-in-chief. As the speedy capture of this great naval arsenal chiefly depended on the judicious management of the immense artillery employed against it, great pains were taken by the commander to find an engineer of ability, and he fixed on Napoleon Buonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery, who, by his able conduct in the siege, laid the foundation of that military fame which afterwards enabled him to give the law to continental Europe. About this period Lieutenant-General O'Hara arrived at Toulon, as governor and commander-in-chief.

The new engineer, aware that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal out-posts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, immediately opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the heights of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly. As it became necessary to take immediate and

effectual measures for the security of so important a post, Governor O'Hara determined to destroy the new works, termed the Convention Battery, and bring off the artillery. Having accordingly obtained a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend some redoubts whence he proposed to withdraw the soldiers, at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November he sent a detachment, consisting of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French, under the command of Major-General David Dundas, who, notwithstanding considerable difficulties, were fortunate enough to surprise the redoubt. Not content with this success, by which they had fully effected all the objects of the expedition, the troops, flushed with victory, rushed forward, and descended the hill after a flying enemy. This unlucky incident was not overlooked by the French generals, who immediately advanced with a considerable body of troops, attacked the assailants, now in disorder by the rapidity of their pursuit and the unevenness of the country, and obliged them in their turn to retire with precipitation. General O'Hara, on this occasion, received a wound in the arm, and, being rendered faint by the loss of blood, was obliged to sit down under a wall, where he was taken prisoner; several other officers also fell into the hands of the French. The events of this day contributed not a little to raise the expectations of the besiegers; they now began to make nearer approaches to the place, and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked the posts of Malbousquet, Le Brun, and Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier, at the same time, but threatened a general assault. Nor were these events to be despised. The garrison at this period was reduced to the most alarming situation; and the enemy, whose force was constantly increasing, amounted to nearly 40,000 men, com-

manded by an able general, while the batteries were managed under the direction of one of the best engineers of his age. On the other hand, the allied troops, composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded 12,000 rank and file. With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly 9000 men. The French, being determined to push on the siege with increased vigour, relieved such of their troops as were fatigued by fresh ones; and at two o'clock in the morning opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave, and from these and the three former ones continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops, and destroyed the works. As the weather proved rainy, they afterwards found means to assemble a large body of forces secretly, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets by that side defended by the Spaniards. On this the British, and such of the other troops as had not been killed during the assault, were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balaguier. At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed, however, on the east side, by about 700 men, commanded by Colonel Le Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished upon this occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although 1800 feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon.

A council of flag and general officers now assembled; and as it was deemed impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken, and the town was not tenable while they remained in possession of

the enemy, it was determined to evacuate it: the troops were accordingly withdrawn, and in the course of that evening the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning, the sick, wounded, and British field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans, after abandoning the port of Micissey, without orders, embarked at noon; and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about 7000 men, during the night. As the enemy now commanded the town, as well as some of the ships, by their shot and shells, it became necessary that the retreat should take place as speedily as possible. Lord Hood accordingly gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near Fort Malgue for that purpose. He had also settled a plan for destroying all the French men of war and the arsenal, but was prevented, by the sudden and unexpected evacuation that took place, from carrying his intentions fully into execution. Having intrusted that service to Sir Sydney Smith, the latter, on entering the dock-yard, found that the artificers had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one; while about 600 galley slaves, who had broken their fetters, were jealous of his operations, and would have exhibited a determined resistance, had he not pointed the guns of two vessels, to keep them in awe. After this he set fire to ten ships of the line and the arsenal, as well as to the mast-house, the great storehouse, and other buildings; but the calmness of the evening prevented much of the effect expected from the conflagration: in the mean time, the Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder-ships, and they, as well as the English, were foiled in the attempt of cutting the boom, and destroying the men of war in the basin, in consequence of repeated volleys of musketry from the flag-ship and the wall

of the royal battery: the *Hero* and *Themistocles* were, however, set on fire, and the party left for this purpose, after a most desperate service, effected their retreat. By daylight next morning all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Admiral Trugoff, on board the *Commerce de Marseilles*, with the *Puissant* and *Pompée*, two other ships of the line, and the *Pearl*, *Arethusa*, and *Topaze* frigates, with several corvettes, formed part of the English fleet, with which Lord Hood proceeded to Hieres Bay, and soon after landed the men, women, and children, with which his decks were encumbered. Of thirty-one ships of the line which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt there, and one at Leghorn; and four Lord Hood had previously sent away to the French ports of Brest and Rochfort, with 5000 republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust. Britain therefore obtained only three ships of the line and five frigates, which were all that the admiral was able to take off.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault of five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France; the besieging army, which provided 4000 ladders for an assault, having entered it at seven o'clock in the morning subsequent to the evacuation. Of the inhabitants who had borne arms against their country, or favoured the cause of the allies, some still remained; and these either put an end to their existence by a voluntary death, or perished by the guillotine or the musket. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists; and the conquerors sullied their victory by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage. workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses;

the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place; the name of *Port de la Montagne* was substituted for that of Toulon; and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army.

The men in power at this period seemed desirous of effecting the abolition of the Christian religion throughout France, and, that nothing in the Calendar might bear any stamp of former religious observances, the Convention decreed a new one, by which the year was divided into twelve months, of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which were dedicated to national festivities: each month was divided into decades, and the day of rest was appointed for every tenth day, instead of every seventh.

In consequence of a report from the Committee of Public Safety, all Frenchmen were now declared, by a solemn decree of the Convention, to be at the service of their country, until its enemies should be chased from the territories of the republic. “The young men shall march to the combat (said this decree); the married ones shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall fabricate tents and clothes, and attend the military hospitals; the children shall make lint to serve as dressings for the wounds of the patriots; while the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach the unity of the republic, and inspire hatred against Kings.” To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be collected from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended in immense quantities, but their value was maintained for some time at a rate nearly equivalent to that of gold; and, when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. The system of requisition was at length recurred to, and all the

necessaries of life appertaining to citizens in easy circumstances were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops; while the great cities were crowded with manufactures of saltpetre, the towns were converted into founderies, and the ancient palaces metamorphosed into arsenals, to supply the elements of destruction. At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *en masse* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the Convention, on the proposition of the Committee of Public Safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain round the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males, from eighteen to forty years of age, were put in permanent requisition, and a draught of 300,000 made at one time. These immense resources enabled them to strengthen and new-model the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubeuge; that of the Ardennes, reaching from Maubeuge to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche; that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the mouth of the Rhone; the army of the Oriental Pyrenees, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; the army of the Western Pyrenees, from the department of the Upper Pyrenees to the mouth of the Gironde; the army of the coasts of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; the army of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and, lastly, that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

On the Rhine the allies under the Duke of Brunswick and General Wurmser were for some time victorious, but in the latter part of November the French were rendered so much superior in number

that they were always able to out-flank their opponents. Wurmsers, having failed in an attempt to gain possession of Strasburg, retired to Haguenau, where the French, after repeated attacks, forced the strong lines, and obliged the Austrians to retire across the Rhine. The Prussians afterwards relinquished the siege of Landau, and the Duke of Brunswick went into winter quarters at Mentz. On the Spanish border various actions took place between the troops of Spain and France, in which the former were successful; but the war in this quarter was of very subordinate importance. In Italy the county of Nice was the scene of some actions between the Sardinian and French troops, which were generally favourable to the former; Genoa, which had manifested a disposition to take part with the French, was overawed by the English fleet; and the Duke of Tuscany was induced, by the representations of the British minister, to declare against France.

Parliament assembled on the 21st of January, 1794; and never did it meet at a more interesting period—at a time when more subjects of great importance pressed upon its attention. The King, in his opening speech, observed that he and his subjects were engaged in a momentous contest, on the issue of which depended the maintenance of the constitution, laws, and religion of the country, and the security of all civil society. Having mentioned the advantages obtained by the arms of the confederate powers, he added, that the circumstances by which their further progress had been impeded not only proved the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but confirmed the expectation of ultimate success. Their enemies, his Majesty observed, had derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which had enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous

people; but these efforts, productive as they had been of internal discontent and confusion, tended rapidly to exhaust the national and real strength of the country. He regretted the necessity of continuing the war; but he thought he should ill consult the essential interests of his people if he desired peace on any grounds exclusive of a due provision for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. An amendment to the address was moved by the Earl of Guildford, who wished for a speedy negotiation, as we had rushed into war without necessity; but the Duke of Portland justified the war as strictly defensive, and as necessary for the preservation of the Christian religion, political and civil liberty, law, and order. The Duke of Norfolk asserted that he had as strong a zeal for the support of our constitution as any Peer of the realm, but he was not impelled by that zeal to an encouragement of the war, as he did not conceive that our happy establishments were endangered by the proceedings of the French. Lord Grenville endeavoured to show, from the convulsed state of that country, the fallacy of all hopes of a successful negotiation. On a division, the address was carried by 97 against 12. In the Commons the address was moved by Lord Clifden, to which Mr. Fox proposed an amendment, recommending to his Majesty to treat for a peace with France upon safe and honourable terms, without any reference to its existing form of government. After a warm debate, which was protracted to a late hour, the address was carried by 277 against 59.

On the 29th of January Lord Arden brought forward a motion for a supply of 85,000 seamen, including 12,115 marines, for the service of the present year, and, on the 3d of the following month, he further moved that the land forces should consist

of 60,244 men, including 3,382 invalids, both of which motions were carried.

On the 17th of February the Marquis of Lansdowne moved an address, to represent to his Majesty the extreme improbability of conquering France; that her dismemberment, if attainable, would augment the strength of the powers most to be dreaded; that opinions cannot be controlled by arms; that experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal government of France, even if the justice were problematical; and that we must incur the keenest reproaches if we encouraged further revolts in a country where we had been unable to save those who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin:—therefore to implore his Majesty to declare, without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such just, disinterested, and liberal terms, as were calculated to render the peace lasting; and that he would signify this intention to his allies, that a stop might be put to the effusion of human blood. The Duke of Grafton seconded the motion; but it was strenuously opposed by Lord Grenville, and ultimately negatived by 103 against 13.

A royal message was delivered on the 12th of May, referring to the seditious practices of democratic societies, and intimating the necessity of taking measures for baffling their dangerous designs. The papers belonging to these clubs were examined by a committee; and, in a report subsequently presented by Mr. Pitt, it was affirmed, as the result of the inquiry, that the *Society for Constitutional Information*, and the *London Corresponding Society*, under the pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of the government; that other associations, in different parts of the kingdom, pursued the same object; that they had endeavoured to promote a general convention of the people; that they had

provided arms for the more effectual prosecution of their nefarious purposes ; that meetings of popular delegates took place at Edinburgh in 1792, and the following year ; that their proceedings were regulated on the French model ; and that, after the dispersion of this convention, the two leading societies exerted their efforts to procure a similar meeting in England, which should supersede the authority of Parliament. The minister, in consequence, proposed that the *habeas corpus* act should be suspended in cases of treason and sedition. Mr. Fox was of opinion that this stretch of power was not justified by the evidence which had been adduced against the associations ; and Mr. Sheridan deprecated, as unconstitutional and dangerous, the grant of an arbitrary power of imprisonment. Mr. Burke, however, felt convinced that the power in question would not be abused, and that it would be attended with salutary effects ; and Mr. Windham advised the strongest measures of coercion. The bill of suspension was rapidly enacted ; and, after spirited debates, an address was voted, promising the strenuous co-operation of the two Houses with the executive power, for the suppression of all seditious attempts, treasonable conspiracies, &c.

The state trials pending at this crisis heightened the alarm which universally prevailed. At the Lancaster spring assizes this year, Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, a strenuous advocate for Parliamentary reform, at whose house meetings for political purposes were occasionally held, was indicted for conspiring, with nine other persons, to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion. To establish this charge, involving, in its consequences, not only the character, but the life, of the accused, the principal evidence adduced was a person of the name of Dunn, whose testimony was so contradictory and

absurd, that the prosecution was abandoned by the counsel for the crown; and Mr. Walker was honourably acquitted, without being put upon his defence, while his accuser was committed to prison, to take his trial for perjury.

In the month of September the trial of two persons at Edinburgh, who had been committed on a charge of high treason, took place under a special commission. On the 3d of that month Robert Watt, a government spy, was tried and convicted of high treason. It appeared that he had formed a romantic project for seizing, by force, upon the castle of Edinburgh, as well as upon the persons of the principal judicial and municipal officers of that city, together with the bank and the excise-office. This intention he had communicated to several persons, who all refused to come into his plans, except David Downie, an illiterate mechanic. That Watt had conspired to levy war against the King there could be no doubt; but, as he had not actually levied it, it was contended that his offence did not come within the legal construction of the statute of Edward the Third. The prisoner, in his defence, asserted, and produced letters in court from Mr. Secretary Dundas in support of that assertion, that he had been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money from them for his services. The prisoner's counsel, therefore, contended that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at the knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and, by appearing zealous in the same cause, to cover his real intentions of betraying these counsels, and bringing to punishment the enemies of their Sovereign. The jury, however, pronounced the prisoner guilty; the judge passed the sentence of death upon him; and he was consequently executed. Downie was

also convicted; but the jury recommended him to mercy, which he had the good fortune to obtain.

A dreadful rumour was at this time suddenly raised of a design to assassinate the King. The persons implicated were Le Maitre, an apprentice to a watchmaker in Denmark-street; William Higgins, apprentice to a chymist in Fleet-street; and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book-stall in the vicinity of Lincoln's Inn. Their accuser was a young man of the name of Upton, an apprentice to a watchmaker. The conspirators were apprehended by a warrant from the Duke of Portland, on the 27th of September, and underwent several examinations before the Privy Council. The charge, resting on the evidence of Upton, was, that an instrument was to have been constructed by the informer, Upton, in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube, of two feet long: through this tube a poisoned dart or arrow was to have been blown by the breath of Le Maitre at his Majesty, either on the Terrace at Windsor or in the play-house. The poison prepared was to have been of so subtle a nature, that, if the point but glanced upon the King, it was to have produced instantaneous death. This story for some time obtained credit, and the persons accused were committed for trial; but, after a long and severe imprisonment, the evidence against them was found so inconsistent, absurd, and incredible, that the affair fell into contempt, under the popular designation of the "Pop-gun Plot," and the men were liberated without trial.

More important proceedings were now about to take place in the Sessions' House, at Clerkenwell, on which the attention of the whole country was rivetted with intense anxiety. On the 25th of October Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London

Corresponding Society ; Daniel Adams, the secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information ; John Horne Tooke, the philologist ; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, preceptor to Lord Mahon ; John Thelwall, the political lecturer ; Thomas Holcroft, the dramatist ; J. A. Bonney ; Steward Kyd ; John Richter ; and John Baxter ; were all arraigned at the Old Bailey, before the President of the Special Commission, Lord-Chief-Justice Eyre. The indictment was of an uncommon length, and contained no less than nine overt-acts of high treason, all resolving themselves into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a National Convention, with a view to subvert the government, to levy war against the existing authorities of the country, and to depose the King. The court, at the request of the prisoners, determined that they should be tried separately, and Mr. Hardy was the first of the number put upon his trial. The opening speech of Sir John Scott, the Attorney-General, occupied nine hours in the delivery, and consisted chiefly of a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the reports of the secret committee of the House of Commons. The written evidence consisted principally of advertisements, addresses, &c. published in the newspapers, and of several private letters which had been seized among the papers of the prisoners. Many of these papers were written in an intemperate, and even inflammatory style, with respect to ministers, and others in authority ; but none of them could, by fairness of construction, be considered as amounting to high treason. On the parole evidence, the Attorney-General drew a very candid and necessary distinction, observing that some of the witnesses were above all exception, and some were persons employed by the government to watch over the proceedings of these societies. The grand object at which these associations

ostensibly aimed was a reform in Parliament, upon the principles of the Duke of Richmond—universal suffrage and annual elections ; and, as these societies contained a large portion of converts to the doctrines of Paine, many of the members, in the height of their enthusiasm, contemplated the establishment of a democratic government. An attempt was made, on the part of the crown lawyers, to show that the associations in question had armed themselves against the government ; but in this they did not succeed. The defence of Mr. Hardy, by Mr. Erskine, was considered as a model of forensic eloquence. After a number of witnesses had been called by the prisoner's counsel, principally for the purpose of proving that the prisoner was of irreproachable character, and that he was a peaceable and inoffensive man, the defence was concluded very ably by Mr. Gibbs. The trial was protracted to the length of seven days, and, the evidence being closed, the jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

On Monday, the 17th of November, Mr. John Horne Tooke, formerly and for many years a clergyman of the Established Church—a man possessed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and mixed with a considerable alloy of eccentricity—was brought to the bar. On the trial it appeared, to the general surprise of the court, that Mr. Tooke had been a remarkably guarded and temperate advocate of reform ; that he very rarely attended the meetings of the societies ; and had even incurred their suspicion and dislike on that account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the House of Peers, as an useful and necessary branch of the constitution, and had uniformly reprobated the Duke of Richmond's plan of reform ; in proof of which it appeared that, in a conversation with Major Cartwright on the subject of reform, he

made use of the following familiar, but expressive, illustration:—"You would go to Windsor; but I should choose to stop at Hounslow." Some difficulty having arisen, in the course of the trial, concerning the identity of the prisoner's hand-writing, Mr. Tooke offered himself to identify it whenever it appeared, adding,—“I protest I never have done an act—I protest I have never had a sentiment—I protest I have never had a thought of any political nature, which, taken fairly, I have the smallest degree of disposition not now to admit. I am anxious that my life and character should go together, and I wish to admit all that I have said, done, or written.” Mr. Pitt was examined on the part of the prisoner, in order to prove that the meeting at the Thatched House Tavern, in 1782, of which he was a member, had the same objects in view as the societies of the present time. He recollected that Mr. Tooke had been present at one of those meetings, the sense of which was, that means should be used to recommend a petition to Parliament, in order to procure a reform; but there was no such idea as a convention of the people, or affiliated societies; and he did not consider it as a meeting of persons authorized to act for any but themselves. Mr. Sheridan, on the other hand, said that he met Mr. Tooke in 1780 at a convention or meeting of delegates, at the Duke of Richmond's and other places, he himself attending as a delegate for Westminster. The evidence having been closed on the 22d of November, the jury retired, and in a few minutes returned a verdict of Not Guilty. An involuntary burst of acclamation instantly filled the court, and was re-echoed by the populace without, who, as on the former occasion, escorted the counsel, Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, to their chambers. The prosecution of the members of the Constitutional Society ended with the trial of Mr. Tooke; and on Monday, the 1st of December,

a jury being empannelled *pro forma*, Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Holcroft, were acquitted and discharged. The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced on the same day, and terminated in the same manner as the other state trials, no new evidence being adduced against him, except some intemperate expressions which he was said to have used at a meeting at Chalk Farm, and in his lecture-room; but the evidence resting on the authority of Lynam and Taylor, reputed spies, whose testimony was rendered nugatory by that of two other witnesses, he was acquitted. All the other prosecutions were then abandoned by the crown lawyers, and those who had been indicted were liberated from confinement.

That the jury acted most conscientiously in acquitting the prisoners of the charge of high treason there can be no doubt; but whoever is acquainted with the nature of the evidence required to convict a British subject of so heinous a crime will be slow to draw the hasty inference that the prisoners were all perfectly innocent; and, indeed, had they been tried for a misdemeanor, they would probably have been convicted. Their acquittal raised the spirits of the disaffected, who openly triumphed in the victory they had obtained, not perceiving that this victory was the highest eulogy which could be pronounced on the British laws; and, when the proceedings against persons charged with political crimes in France were compared with these trials, the comparison could not fail to excite, in the breast of every honest Briton, the proudest feelings of exultation.

The trials which had taken place in Scotland, particularly those of Thomas Muir and the Reverend Fysche Palmer, the former a Scotch barrister, and the latter an Unitarian preacher at Dundee, who had been convicted of sedition in the autumn of 1793,

and sentenced to transportation, excited considerable alarm among their friends and associates in England, and attracted the attention even of some members of the British senate, who condemned their conduct while they deplored their fate. Mr. Adam, a barrister of some eminence, had given notice, early in the session, of his intention to move for permission to bring in a bill for subjecting the sentence of the Scotch judges, in criminal cases, to an appeal to the British House of Lords. He accordingly brought forward his motion on the 4th of February; but it was negatived by 126 against 31. It was next treated as a matter of doubt whether the Court of Justiciary had not exceeded the limits of their power in substituting the punishment of transportation for that of banishment, imposed by the act of Queen Anne, for the offence charged upon the above-named persons, whose characters in private life, however mistaken in their public opinions and conduct, were admitted to be in the highest degree respectable. Mr. Adam therefore moved, on the 10th of March, for a copy of the record to be laid before the House, upon the ground of which he meant to question the legality of the sentence; and if his arguments prevailed with the House, as no appeal could lie from the conviction, he should propose an address to his Majesty, in favour of these unfortunate men. Mr. Pitt, however, insisted that no doubt could be entertained either of the legality of the trials or the propriety with which the Lords of Justiciary had exercised their discretion on that occasion; and the question was lost, on a division, by 139 against 32 voices. On the 25th Mr. Adam introduced a third motion, supported by a long chain of facts and reasonings, relative to the regulation of the justiciary courts of Scotland, purporting to bring their general practice nearer to that of the English courts.

Mr. Secretary Dundas, however, contended that the Scottish nation was very happy under its own laws; that the alterations proposed would be a violation of the articles of the Union; and that the reform really wanting was to assimilate the English law of sedition, in a certain degree, to that of Scotland. The motion was negatived by 77 against 24.

Among the military plans in agitation at this time was a projected expedition to the coast of France, with a view to co-operate with the loyalists in Britany, and the neighbouring districts; and a body of Hessian troops, in the pay of England, was destined for this service. As the preparations, however, were not in a sufficient state of forwardness when these troops arrived from the Continent, and sickness would be produced by detaining them on board the transports till every thing was ready for carrying the plan into effect, it was deemed proper to put them into temporary quarters at Portsmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and in other convenient places near the coast. This circumstance was communicated to Parliament, in a message from his Majesty, on the 27th of March. As many similar cases had occurred at different periods, and as the cause and necessity of the measure were so perfectly obvious, it was concluded that the usual communication of the fact to Parliament would be satisfactory: the opposition, however, contended that the minister ought to have moved for a bill of indemnity; and he was charged with having violated the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. Mr. Grey, on the 10th of February, moved, as a resolution of the House, "that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, without the consent of Parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law," which motion was negatived;

and the subject was afterwards renewed, in both Houses, by propositions for a bill of indemnity, but with no better success, ministers contending that it would be absurd to pretend to indemnify measures which were in themselves justifiable, and not unconstitutional.

Mr. Wilberforce's bill for abolishing that part of the slave trade which related to the supply of foreign plantations passed the House of Commons, under the patronage of Mr. Pitt, but was thrown out in the Lords, in consequence of the avowed disapprobation of Lord Grenville, who considered it to be ill-timed, pending the inquiry instituted in that House respecting the general question. A motion by Bishop Horsley, for referring to a committee the further hearing of evidence concerning the slave trade, was also negatived.

A message was delivered from the King, on the 22d of February, purporting that the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country made an increase of the land forces necessary; and an address was voted by the House, assuring his Majesty of their zealous concurrence in every exertion which became a brave and loyal people in the prosecution of this just and necessary war. A great augmentation of the militia, and an addition of volunteer fencible corps, were accordingly voted; and the expedient of soliciting voluntary contributions, by a formal letter written by the secretary of state to the lords-lieutenant of the several counties, was successfully resorted to, though strongly opposed as highly illegal, and contrary to the spirit of the British constitution; and on the 28th of March Mr. Sheridan moved, that it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan, &c. to the crown, to be used for any public purpose, without the previous consent of Parliament. The question was considered as

one which could be neither universally affirmed nor universally denied, and the motion was negatived by a considerable majority, as was a similar one by Lord Lauderdale in the House of Peers. Very considerable discussion also arose on a bill introduced by Mr. Pitt, on the 1st of April, for the encouragement of those who should voluntarily enrol themselves for the general defence of the kingdom during the war; and on another, the object of which was to enable Frenchmen to enlist in his Majesty's service on the Continent, or, in other words, for employing the French emigrants in a military capacity. In the debate upon this question, Mr. Burke, who soon afterwards vacated his seat in Parliament, entered, with his usual vivacity, into an eulogium on the ancient government of France, and an invective against the present; and the motion was carried by a majority of 185. The requisite supply for the present year amounted to nearly 20,000,000*l.*, and the ways and means included some new taxes, and a loan of 11,000,000*l.* Persons professing the Roman Catholic religion were exempted from the customary charge of double land-tax.

Among several attempts which were made by the opposition to put an end to the war, Mr. Whitbread moved an address to the King, on the 6th of March, strongly expressive of disapprobation of the conduct of ministers, and of those measures which had preceded and succeeded the declaration of war; lamenting that his Majesty should have been advised to make a common cause with powers whose objects were undefined, but who, as there was much ground to fear, prosecuted the war with views and for purposes solemnly disavowed by his Majesty, and abhorrent to the principles of a free nation; and requesting his Majesty to extricate himself from his present engagements, as they prevented his concluding a separate peace. This motion, and

a similar one made by the Earl of Guildford in the House of Lords, were negatived by great majorities. The Duke of Bedford, who had already distinguished himself as a speaker, called likewise the attention of the Peers to the important subject of peace, on the 30th of May, when he submitted a series of propositions, fourteen in number. With respect to the question, how a *permanent* peace was to be made with France, his grace professed himself at a loss to comprehend the force of the epithet. As applied to treaties between nations, no peace had ever been, or could ever be, permanent, which it suited the interest or inclinations of either party to break; and a peace concluded at the present time was as likely to be permanent as at any other. Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion upon the ground of its being an improper interference with the royal prerogative. There were, he said, no hopes of a permanent peace with the French; the speediest method of obtaining it would be by a change in that government. We were justified in our endeavours to effect this object in every practicable way; and their making war upon us, unprovoked, undoubtedly gave us new rights; and this none who understood the law of nations could possibly call in question. The resolutions were disposed of by an adjournment, and a similar motion, proposed by Mr. Fox on the same day in the House of Commons, was also lost by a majority of 110 against 57, in favour of the previous question. The debates on these topics served only to display the irreconcilable differences of opinion between the two parties, and the great superiority of numbers by which the measures of government were supported. The conduct of administration was also severely animadverted upon by Major Maitland, brother to the Earl of Lauderdale, on the 10th of April, in an unsuccessful motion for a committee

of the whole House to inquire into the causes of the failure at Dunkirk, and the evacuation of Toulon, to which Mr. Pitt objected, on account of the great inconveniences of inquiry, which he affirmed to be of such magnitude that they ought never to be hazarded, except when the failures were of a nature to attach incapacity to the character of ministers, or to occasion distrust of the general system which they had adopted.

The situation of General La Fayette and his companions exciting the compassion of many respectable persons, General Fitzpatrick moved in the House of Commons, on the 17th of March, for an address to the throne, beseeching his Majesty to intercede with the court of Berlin in their favour. It appeared that the King of Prussia, being applied to for the release of La Fayette, had answered, that he was not his prisoner alone, but that of the Confederate Powers jointly, and that he could be set at liberty only by the consent of all. Mr. Pitt denied that M. La Fayette's conduct had ever been friendly to the genuine cause of liberty; he affirmed that the interference required would be setting up ourselves as guardians of the consciences of foreign states; and the motion was negatived by a large majority.

On the 28th of April Mr. Dundas delivered a message from the King, announcing a treaty of subsidy with the King of Prussia, and a convention with the States General. Mr. Pitt stated that his Prussian Majesty had agreed to furnish 62,400 troops, for which his Britannic Majesty had agreed to pay him 50,000*l.* per month, 100,000*l.* per month for forage, 400,000*l.* to put the army in motion, and 100,000*l.* on their return; of the aggregate of which sums the States General were to pay 400,000*l.* as their proportion. Over the troops subsidized at this expense the direction and command were still vested in the King of Prussia. The motion of Mr.

Pitt for the sum of 2,500,000*l.* to be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills, in addition to the supplies of the current year, for the purpose of making good this engagement, after being warmly opposed in every stage, ultimately passed by a great majority, as usual.

In consequence of the provision which had been made in the course of the session for embodying a numerous corps of French emigrants, Mr. Sheridan moved for leave to bring in a bill for a new military test, containing merely a declaration of allegiance, such as might admit the whole body of English Dissenters, Catholic and Protestant, to serve their country in a military capacity; to which he said that he presumed the House would allow them to be at least as competent as an army of French Papists. Mr. Sheridan objected to all the tests and disqualifying laws; but, confining himself on the present occasion to what he thought might probably be granted, he extended his motion only to military and naval tests, leaving all civil employments to remain as they were. The previous question, however, was carried without a division.

Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July by a speech from the throne, in which the King urged the two Houses to persevere with increased vigour and exertion in the present arduous contest against a power irreconcilably hostile in its principles and spirit to all regular and established governments.

Various alterations in the administration took place about this time. Earl Fitzwilliam was declared President of the Council, in the room of Earl Camden; Earl Spencer was appointed Lord Privy Seal; the Duke of Portland was made third Secretary of State; and Mr. Windham Secretary at War. Before the close of the year Lord Fitzwilliam was promoted to the Vice-Royalty of Ireland, in

the room of Lord Westmorland; and the Earl of Mansfield, late Lord Stormont, and nephew to the celebrated Chief-Justice Mansfield, lately deceased, succeeded to the Presidency of the Council. Lord Spencer was placed at the head of the Admiralty; and Lord Chatham, brother to the Premier, who had for some years occupied that important department, was made Lord Privy Seal. Ten new peers were also created; and the Duke of Portland's services were still further rewarded with a blue riband and the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

The system of terror in France had given to the rulers of that land an absolute dominion over the persons of its inhabitants, and over every thing which it contained. Resolved to extend their sway over the neighbouring countries, to enlarge their own boundaries, and to obtain, by plunder, the means of supporting those gigantic efforts which they were thus enabled to make, they had armed, at the close of the year 1793, nearly 1,000,000 of men, 300,000 of whom were employed on the northern frontier of the republic. To these the allies had not more than 140,000 men to oppose. Besides the superiority of numbers, the French army had the advantage of being subject to the orders of one chief, as it were; while the allies, composed of different nations, were commanded by various leaders, who were very far from acting with that cordial spirit of co-operation which was so essentially necessary, not merely to ensure success, but to prevent defeat. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia, and the jealousy which each had conceived of the other, were so visible, that, as early as the 6th of January, the Duke of Brunswick addressed a remarkable letter to the King of Prussia, in which he announced the resignation of his command, stating, as his motive, the unhappy experience that want of con-

nexion, distrust, egotism, and a spirit of cabal, had disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns. In a subsequent part of the letter he says, "When, instead of the prevalence of an unanimous sentiment and the same principle, each army acts separate and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maubeuge, and Landau. Heaven preserve your Majesty from great misfortunes!" The resignation of the duke was soon followed by a complaint from the Prussian monarch of the great expense of the war, and a proposal that the states of the empire should provide for the subsistence of his troops; a request to which that body did not accede. When the emperor desired that the Diet would order the people in the frontier circles to rise in a mass, the court of Berlin strongly opposed the measure, as fruitless and dangerous; the general levy did not take place; and the contingents of the German princes were imperfectly and tardily furnished.

It has been conjectured that the King of Prussia, from the disappointment of various kinds which he had experienced, had already determined to withdraw himself from the confederacy. In the month of February certain commissioners from the French republic arrived at Frankfort, under the pretext of negotiating for an exchange of prisoners; but the marked distinction with which they were treated indicated somewhat of different import, and of higher moment. Field-Marshal Mullendorf succeeded the Duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army; and an intimation to the Prince of Cobourg, that he had received orders from his court to march towards Cologne, was followed, on the 13th of March, by a proclamation addressed to the German empire, announcing his Prussian Majesty's actual

secession from the grand confederacy. This *ruse d'état* appears to have fully answered its intended purpose ; as it was almost immediately followed by the treaty of subsidy already mentioned, conformably to which, the sum of nearly 2,000,000*l.* was to be paid to the court of Berlin, for the service of an army of 62,000 men, to be commanded by an officer of his Prussian Majesty's own appointment.

In March a general council of war was convened at Ath, when the projected arrangements of the campaign, on the part of the court of Vienna, were brought forward by General Haddick. A main article of this plan was, that General Clairfait, an officer of great ability and experience, should be appointed to the command of the auxiliary forces, and that the Duke of York should act under his orders, the Prince of Cobourg continuing at the head of the grand imperial army. This his royal highness refused with disdain ; and the dispute was only settled by the determination that the Emperor himself should take the field in person, and that in him should be vested the supreme command. On the 9th of April his Imperial Majesty arrived at Brussels, where he was solemnly inaugurated Duke of Brabant, and thence proceeded to Valenciennes, where his presence diffused great joy. The whole army was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau on the 16th, and on the following day they marched in eight columns to invest Landreci. The French assembled in force at the camp of Cæsar, near Cambray, from which they were driven by the confederates on the 23d, and the investment of Landreci immediately took place. The next day the French made a general assault upon the different posts of the allies in this quarter, and were in most instances repulsed ; but the post of Moucron, where Clairfait commanded, was attacked with a superior force by Pichegru in person, and carried,

after a brave resistance. Courtray and Menin thus fell into the hands of the republicans. In return, the fortress of Landreci, which had repelled the utmost efforts of Prince Eugene in 1712, fell, after a short siege, into the hands of the Prince of Cobourg.

In the month of June, the French, under General Jourdan, who commanded on the side of the Moselle, passed the Sambre, for the third time in the space of fourteen days, and, after being twice repulsed, laid siege to the town of Charleroi. The Prince of Cobourg determined to make a grand effort for its relief. On the 21st he reached Ath, and on the 24th effected a junction with the hereditary Prince of Orange and General Beaulieu, who commanded in that quarter. The main body of the French army under General Jourdan was strongly posted, at this time, in the vicinity of Fleurus, to cover the siege of Charleroi. On the morning of the 26th the Prince of Cobourg hazarded a general attack on this force. The battle continued with unabated fury till near the close of the day, by which time the allied army was defeated in every part, and forced, with immense loss, to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the scene of action. This was a great and decisive victory. Charleroi, to save which this bloody action was fought, had surrendered on the evening of the 25th; and Brussels fell, without further resistance, into the hands of the enemy. General Clairfait was equally unfortunate on the opposite side. Ypres, the key of Western Flanders, was besieged by 50,000 men, commanded by General Moreau. After a series of engagements, in which the French were almost uniformly victorious, the Austrians were compelled to fall back upon Ghent, and Ypres surrendered on the 17th of June. The Emperor, with his favourite, General Mack, in utter despair of success, left the army,

after having in vain issued proclamation after proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Low Countries to rise in a mass in order to repel the invaders.

The Duke of York, who enjoyed the honour of a separate command at Tournay, was attacked, on the 10th of May, by a French force, consisting of 30,000 men, which he drove back with great loss. The Emperor immediately determined to march to his assistance, and a grand attack was concerted, in which the army of General Clairfait was ordered to co-operate; but the movements of the different columns not being attended with equal success, the duke, after a succession of severe conflicts, was obliged to fly, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. In company with only an Austrian general and two other gentlemen, he entered a village, supposing it to be in the hands of the allies, but, on turning a corner in full gallop, they found a column of the enemy facing them, which, supposing the duke to be at the head of a body of troops, at first fled, after firing a volley, which killed the Austrian general at his side. Recovering, however, from their error, they pursued the duke and his two companions so closely, that they arrived with great difficulty at Tournay, a position which became at length wholly untenable, and was therefore evacuated, the duke retreating in the direction of Antwerp. No sooner had the fate of the Netherlands been thus decided, than Lord Moira arrived from England with a reinforcement of 10,000 men at Ostend, the gallant remains of that army which had been destined to re-establish royalty in Britany. His lordship found his situation very critical, the French being in possession of the country on all sides of him, and it was deemed necessary immediately to evacuate the town, and endeavour to force his way, without tents or baggage, through the

enemy, to join the army of the allies, which, by great and skilful exertion, he accomplished on the 8th of July: the shipping in the harbour, amounting to 150 sail, with the ammunition, stores, &c. on board, took their departure for Flushing. Thus Ostend, and, nearly at the same time, Tournay and Ghent, fell into the hands of the French. In the respective engagements which had taken place between Pichegru and the Prince of Cobourg, since the battle of Fleurus, the former had greatly the advantage: Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and Nieuport, places widely distant, and soon after Mechlin, surrendered to the republican arms, and Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. The Stadtholder consequently solicited the States General to make an extraordinary levy throughout the provinces, but without effect; a revolution in the government was apprehended; and the utmost alarm was every where felt.

General Kleber took possession of Louvain about the middle of July, after defeating General Clairfait, who had possession of the famous camp of the Montagne-de-Fer. The last hope of the allies, that of forming a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was now relinquished, Namur being, on the night of the 16th, abandoned by General Beaulieu; and, on the 24th, the French took quiet possession of Antwerp, the allies having previously set fire to the immense magazines there deposited. Sluys made a brave resistance, but surrendered after a siege of six weeks, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. The strong towns still occupied by the allies, Landreci, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, being now completely insulated, successively reverted, almost without resistance, to the French.

At the beginning of August the army under the Duke of York was stationed at Breda, whence, for

greater security, it retreated towards Bois-le-Duc. The French forces, re-collected under Pichegru, advancing rapidly upon them, to the number of 80,000 men, about the middle of September, the duke crossed the Maese, and took a fresh position near Grave; and, at the beginning of October, he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen. The French, crossing the Maese, made an attack on the British posts in front of that town, and, having obliged them to change their position, invested the place. Towards the end of the month his royal highness passed the Waal, leaving General Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen, which was evacuated in great confusion, and with much loss, on the 7th of November. Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Grave, were also successively reduced. Whilst Pichegru was in Dutch Flanders, the Austrian general, La Tour, was totally defeated by General Jourdan near Liege, which city, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle and Juliers, were occupied by the French. The Prince of Cobourg was at this period suddenly dismissed from his high command; and his successor, General Clairfait, was compelled, early in October, to repass the Rhine at Cologne. The French pursued the imperial troops to the very margin of the river; and, as the rear of the Austrian army embarked, the question was loudly and insultingly asked, if that was the road to Paris? About the end of September the siege of Maestricht was formally commenced, and lasted forty days, during which interval the attack and defence were conducted with heroic bravery. The atmosphere seemed filled with balls, bombs, and shells, and scarcely was a place of safety left in the whole circuit of the city. Two thousand buildings, public and private, were said to be destroyed; and a general storm was intended on the 4th of November,

when the governor, moved by the situation of the inhabitants, and the entreaties of the magistrates, consented to articles of capitulation with General Kleber, who entered the place on the same day.

The Prussians did not act with much vigour in this campaign, nor were they wholly inactive. Being obliged to make some show of co-operation with the Austrians, they surprised the French in their intrenchments at Keyzerslautern, and defeated them with considerable loss. In July they were attacked by General Desaix, who carried the important posts occupied by Prince Hohenloe on the Platoberg, a high mountain in the territory of Deux-Ponts; and, soon afterwards, the whole chain of posts from Neustadt to the Rhine being assailed with success, both Austrians and Prussians were obliged to retreat with precipitation. The imperial army re-crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired towards Guntersbloom and Mentz. The recent acquisition of Keyzerslautern was abandoned to the republicans, who again occupied the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves. In Spain and Italy also the armies of the republic were successful. In November, 1793, they penetrated into the province of Catalonia; and, in the beginning of February following, a battle was fought near St. Jean de Luz, in which the French were conquerors. In May another victory was gained near Ceret; and soon afterwards a third, of more importance than the former two, over the principal Spanish army, posted in the vicinity of Collioure. On the western side the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian fell into the hands of the French. In Italy the Piedmontese had, at the command of the Sardinian monarch, risen in a mass; but, being destitute of the enthusiasm of liberty, they constituted a body without a soul. The French forced the famous pass of Mount

Cenis, took possession of the city and territory of Oneglia, and made themselves masters of a great part of the open country of that district.

In the Mediterranean the progress of the English arms, subsequently to the evacuation of Toulon, was very flattering. Early in February, 1794, Lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the Convention, the insurgents having been excited to this resistance by the English influence, under the conduct of their ancient and popular chief, Paschal Paoli, who had been some years since restored to his country with honour by the Constituent Assembly. Mortella, Tornelli, and St. Fiorenza, being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans who adhered to the French interest retreated to Bastia, which resisted the united efforts of the Anglo-Corsicans and English till the 24th of May, when it capitulated on honourable terms; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. Letters of convocation were immediately issued for the assembly of the General Consulta, to be held at Corte, the ancient capital of Corsica, on Sunday, the 8th of June: General Paoli was elected President. The representatives of the Corsican nation immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British crown; a constitutional act was framed accordingly; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic Majesty, formally accepted this act on his part, and immediately assumed the title of Viceroy.

At home, as well as abroad, the navy of England was destined to be uniformly triumphant. The Channel fleet, which, during the last summer, had achieved nothing worthy the reputation of its veteran commander, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy which had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous to vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own

character from unmerited reproach ; and the powerful armament now under his command left no doubt relative to the result of a contest. On reaching the Lizard a signal was made for the East Indiamen to proceed on their voyage, under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre. Having received information on the 19th of May that the Brest fleet was at sea, Lord Howe deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under Rear-Admiral Montague as soon as possible ; but on hearing, two days after, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues further to the westward, he immediately altered his course, and steered towards them.

Great care had hitherto been taken to avoid any naval contest with the English ; but, on the present occasion, orders were transmitted to Vice-Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse to protect the supplies from America at the risk of a battle. Jean Bon St. André, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as a national commissioner, having embarked on board the flag ship, carrying 120 guns, and designated *La Montagne*, after the ruling party in the Convention. On the 28th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, in north latitude $47^{\circ} 33'$, W. Long. $14^{\circ} 10'$, the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time ; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event Earl Howe continued his course, while the French admiral endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to

avoid a close fight, the British commander displayed the signal for a general chase, and, to prevent their escape, he soon after detached Rear-Admiral Palsey, with a flying squadron, to make an impression on their rear: that officer accordingly, near the close of the day, attacked the *Révolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of 110 guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line, but without any decisive success on either side. The rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on the part of the French, and twenty-five on that of the British, remained within sight of each other during the whole night, on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward; but next morning, the 29th, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of a victory, wore from van to rear, and, instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet.

Taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, Lord Howe renewed the signal for passing the enemy's line, and succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining the weather-gage, while the enemy were repulsed by the *Barfleur*, and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the *Queen* and *Royal George*. At length Villaret tacked again by signal; and, after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet. The second day's action proved equally indecisive as the former, and a thick fog, that intervened during this night and the greater part of the succeeding day, prevented the renewal of the engagement. In the mean time Rear-Admiral Neilly joined the French commander-in-chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line and two frigates: this accession of strength enabled him to detach his crippled ships; and the dawn of the succeeding day exhibited the two fleets drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. The British admiral,

perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast, which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement: but they were greatly disappointed; for in about half an hour Lord Howe gave orders for steering the Royal Charlotte alongside the French admiral, which was effected at nine o'clock in the morning; and, while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat with their antagonists to windward. So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little either on the exertion of nautical knowledge, or the exhibition of that scientific skill which subjects the management of artillery to the rules of tactics: all was hard fighting. Such was the tremendous fire, and so decisive the advantage, on the part of the British, that, in about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest; for he now perceived several of his ships dismasted, and one of seventy-four guns about to sink; he at the same time found that six were captured: a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain and a multitude of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, were wounded: he accordingly crowded off with all the canvass he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van that were not completely crippled: two or three of these, although dismantled, also got away soon after, under a temporary sail hoisted on the occasion; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished: the Queen Charlotte, in particular, was at

this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action ; this was soon after followed by the maintopmast, which fell over the side ; while the Brunswick, which had lost her mizenmast, and the Queen, also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty and five seventy-four gun ships, however, still remained in possession of the victors ; but one of the latter, *Le Vengeur*, went down soon after she was taken possession of, and, though many of the French were saved on this occasion by the humanity of their adversaries, above 300 went to the bottom. The slaughter on board the French fleet was very great, that in the captured ships alone amounting to 1270. The British total loss was 904.

Admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, whence he was immediately despatched to join Earl Howe, sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships, which, in case of an action, might take shelter in that port : he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day he descried the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse ; but, notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle, and gave chase ; while the fleet from America, consisting of 160 sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety on the 12th of June.

The British commander-in-chief now deemed it proper to conduct the six ships captured from the enemy into port, being unable to keep the sea, on account of the disabled state of his own squadron : he accordingly steered for England, arrived safe off Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, on the 13th of June,

and in the course of the same day returned thanks for the highly distinguished examples of resolution, spirit, and perseverance, which had been testified by every description of officers, seamen, and military corps, in the ships of the fleet, during the several actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May and the 1st of June. The British fleet, after it had been refitted, again put to sea; but the enemy was so completely humbled, that the Brest fleet never ventured out till Lord Howe had returned to port.

The victory of the 1st of June conferred great glory on the admiral, and was received at home with uncommon rejoicing. Large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in action. Rear-Admirals Bowyer and Pasley were created baronets, and received a pension of 1000*l.* each *per annum*. Admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood had the honours of the peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the King in person, on board the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead; and also with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with Victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his lordship's name, and the date of the action. In December, 1796, his Majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the following flag-officers and captains, who were reported by Lord Howe to have signalized themselves during the battle with the French fleet:—Vice-Admirals Sir A. Hood, T. Graves; Rear-Admirals A. Gardner, G. Bowyer, T. Pasley, Sir R. Curtis; Captains W. Hope, Elphinstone, Hon. T. Pakenham, J. T. Duckworth, Sir A. Douglas, H. Harvey, W. Domett, H. Nichols, J. W. Payne, and T. Pringle.

The success of the British navy in the course of

this year was nearly uniform. On the 23d of April Sir John Borlase Warren captured two French frigates off Guernsey, after two hours' fighting. In August he pursued five other French ships of war off Scilly, and, driving two of them under the batteries of the Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them; but, with a generosity worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded must have perished had he set their vessels on fire. Several combats of single ships displayed the superiority of our seaman in a most brilliant light; nor did the loss of the *Alexander*, of seventy-four guns, in the month of November, tarnish the reputation of the British arms, though the unusual spectacle of such a prize was resounded through France as an immortal achievement. This vessel, which had parted from the division of Admiral Bligh, was attacked off Brest by three French seventy-fours, which she resisted for two hours, and it was not till her lower masts were on the point of going by the board that she reluctantly struck to this disparity of force.

Towards the end of the year 1793 the British government had prepared a formidable armament to act against the colonies of France in the West Indies. On the 3d of November, in that year, this expedition sailed; the land forces, which consisted of about 6000 troops, under the command of Sir Charles Grey; and the naval armament, consisting of four ships of war, nine frigates, a bomb-ketch, and a few gun-boats, and several store-ships, under Sir John Jervis. Having rendezvoused early in the year in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, they sailed on the 3d of February, to the attack of Martinico, which surrendered, after a resolute resistance of seven weeks. Fort Royal was carried by escalade, with extraordinary exertions of valour, particularly

on the part of Captain Faulknor, of the Zebra, who entered the harbour through the fire of all the batteries, and laid his sloop alongside the walls, which he scaled in defiance of repeated volleys of grape shot. As soon as the reduction of Martinico had been effected, the troops were re-embarked, and landed on the island of St. Lucia, which capitulated on the 4th of April; and upon the 11th of the same month the fleet and army arrived off Guadaloupe, which, after a short but brave defence, surrendered, with its dependencies, on the 20th. After these glorious successes Sir Charles Grey returned to Martinico, leaving General Dundas, brother to the minister, to command at Guadaloupe, where he unfortunately died of the fever incident to the climate, after a few days' illness, early in June. About this time a French squadron appeared off the island, from which a body of troops landing under the command of a most daring and skilful leader, Victor Hugues, attacked Fort Fleur d'Epée, which they carried by storm; and the English retreated with considerable loss to Fort Louis: this was also soon evacuated, and the troops, shattered and disheartened, took refuge in Basseterre. Sir Charles Grey, on the first intelligence of this attempt, sailed from St. Kitt's with all the force he could collect, and, landing on the island of Guadaloupe on the 19th of June, made an attempt on the post of Point-à-Petre on the 2d of July. After great efforts of valour, however, he was repulsed, with the loss of 600 men. Upon this the forces were re-embarked, and Basseterre, after a long and vigorous resistance, with the whole island and its dependencies, reverted to its former possessors. Not long after the loss of the island, the brave Captain Faulknor, who had so eminently contributed to the reduction of Martinico, lost his life in an engagement with a frigate near Marie-Galante. More than 70 men are said

to have been killed in the French vessel, and above 100 wounded; while only 29 suffered in the victorious ship.

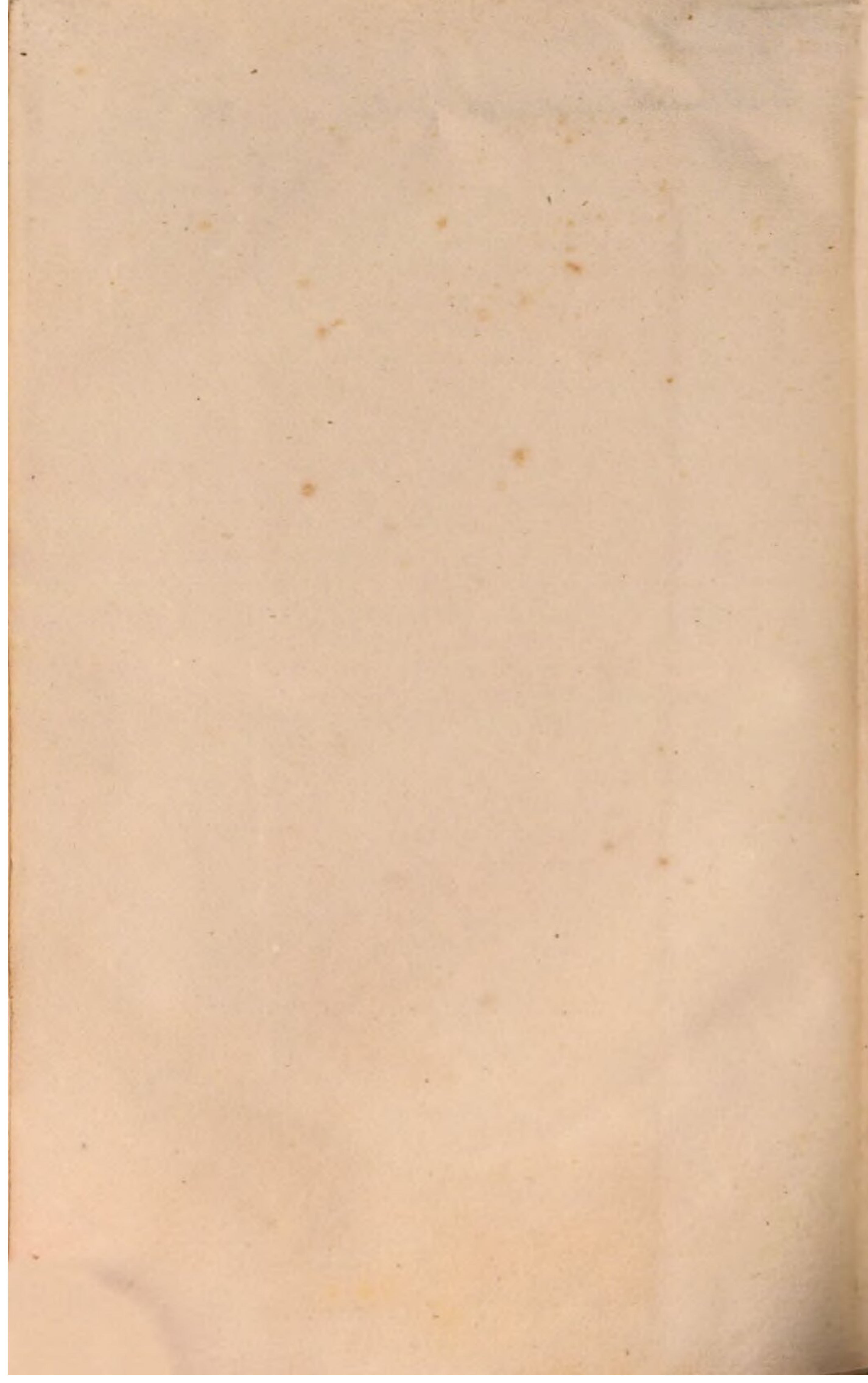
In the sanguinary island of St. Domingo the English had so far profited as to acquire some territorial possessions. That island, in a remarkable degree, had suffered the mischievous effects of the French revolution. When the people in the mother country asserted their right to freedom, the claims of the colonial subjects of France were also recognised; and a society, called *Les Amis des Noirs*, (Friends of the Negroes,) warmly supported the pretensions of the slaves to emancipation, and of the mulattoes to all the privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants. The declaration of rights promulgated by the National Assembly increased the ferment which the first intelligence of the revolution had produced in the islands; and violent disturbances and contests were apprehended. Deputies from the different districts of the French part of St. Domingo met, by the King's order, to prevent tumults and reform abuses; but their endeavours were opposed by the partisans of the old régime, and the governor dissolved the Assembly. Many of the representatives sailed to France to justify their conduct; and, during their absence, Ogé, an enterprising mulatto, found means to excite an insurrection; but it was quickly suppressed, and his life was sacrificed to public justice. The claims of his brethren, however, were confirmed by a decree of the ruling assembly of the parent state, which admitted them to all the privileges of French citizens on the 15th of May, 1791. While a new colonial assembly deliberated on the conduct which prudence required at this crisis, the slaves in the neighbourhood of Cape François attacked the whites, murdered a great number of them, and destroyed the

plantations. The insurrection soon spread to other districts; and though many hundreds of the negroes and their confederates were slain in battle or perished by famine, they seemed to multiply like the heads of the hydra. Commissioners were sent from France to heal the disorders of the colony; but they produced, by their misconduct, a civil war among the whites, and invited to their aid a body of rebel negroes, who perpetrated a horrible series of massacres at Cape François, and in June, 1793, burnt the greater part of the town.

The convulsions of the colony induced many of the planters to solicit succour from the British government; and Major-General Williamson was ordered to detach an armament from Jamaica, to take possession of those settlements which the people might be disposed to surrender. Lieutenant-Colonel Whitelocke sailed in consequence to Jeremie, and received the submission of the inhabitants; the town and harbour of St. Nicolas were also given up to the English; and to these possessions Leogane, and other towns and districts, were soon added. An expedition was undertaken for the reduction of Cape Tiburon; and a bribe was offered to General Lavaux for the surrender of Port de Paix. The enterprise succeeded, and the town was taken on the 2d of February, 1794. The fort of Acul was stormed by the English; but at Bombard they were repelled with loss. They defended Cape Tiburon against an army of blacks and mulattoes, who were routed with considerable slaughter. The arrival of a reinforcement from Great Britain, under Brigadier-General Whyte, elevated the hopes of the English, and preparations were made for the conquest of Port-au-Prince. Fort Bizotton was taken at the point of the bayonet, and the town was soon after evacuated. The un-

healthiness of the climate now occasioned a great mortality among the troops, and checked the extension of their conquests: they lost Leogane, were severely harassed in the town of St. Marc and at Fort Bizotton, and were deprived of Tiburon by the mulatto general, Rigaud.

END OF VOL. III.



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